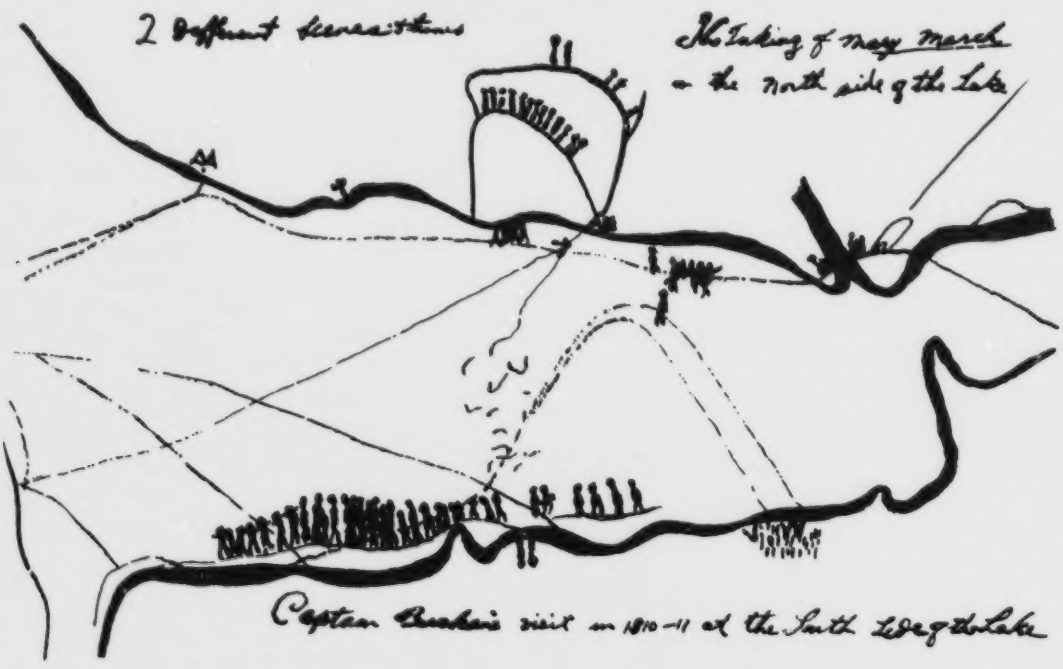
Beothuk Vocabularies

A COMPARATIVE STUDY
BY JOHN HEWSON


2 Different versions
Mistaking of Mary March
- the north side of the lake
Captain Buckle's visit in 1810-11 at the South Side of the Lake

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Beothuk Vocabularies

John Hewson

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Introduction

With the help of a Canada Council Research Grant, I first began work on the Beothuk vocabularies in 1967, under the stimulus of a comment by Mary Haas in her paper "Is Kutenai related to Algonkian" *Canadian Journal of Linguistics,* (10:77-92):

"Beothuk (Powell's 'Beothukan'), an extinct language of Newfoundland, may have been a distant relative of the Algonkian family, but the relationship is not an obvious one. In view of the inadequate and poorly edited printed vocabularies that are available, this may remain a problem for a long time to come." (p. 78)

The project clearly needed the attention of a professional linguist resident in Newfoundland, where much of the archival material needed was readily available at first hand, and where the knowledge and experience of local history and bibliography were available on a day-by-day basis. This project also happily and fittingly coincided with the foundation of Memorial University's Department of Linguistics (the only such department in the Atlantic Provinces).

During the search for manuscript material on which a proper scrutiny of the vocabularies might be based, two previously unrecorded manuscripts came to light. It also became quite obvious that the work of Gatschet in the 1880's, which had been considered a definitive collation of all evidence available, was not only sometimes garbled but badly confused. Clear-cut evidence emerged, for example, from a painstaking collation of all sets of glosses from all manuscripts, that what Gatschet had described as the "Montreal copy of Cormack" was not Cormack at all, but a badly garbled version of the Leigh vocabulary that Gatschet should have recognized as such. Tentative evidence also emerged that what had been called the King vocabulary, of unknown provenance, was probably a Cormack vocabulary, especially since the informant for this vocabulary was clearly Shanawdithit.

Consequently there is need for a review and representation of the Beothuk vocabularies so that new details can be added, and distortions expunged. In this text, therefore, I have taken the vocabularies as three sets, based on the three Beothuk females who served as informants, and have tried to establish a single definitive version of each vocabulary. The manuscripts of the vocabularies have also been photocopied so that all readings can be verified in the original, and so that the layout of the manuscripts, which is sometimes significant, can be observed. The definitive vocabularies so established are put together in a single listing (by English gloss) in an appendix. A system of cross references leads from this appendix to the individual vocabularies (so that variations may be checked) and another system leads from these latter to the photocopies of the manuscripts (so that the originals can be verified with ease and speed).

A chapter has been added on interpreting the vocabularies which will be of interest not only to linguists, but to archaeologists and anthropologists, and probably to the general public. I have sought, therefore, to make this chapter readily comprehensible to a general audience: I trust that linguists will be tolerant of the necessity that sometimes arises, as a consequence, of explaining things in somewhat discursive detail.

I am grateful to many people who have given me assistance of all kinds. One of my graduate students, Alan Humber, set himself to plough through J.P. Howley's "The Beothucks" making a complete alphabetical list of all proper names. The result is a twenty page index (single space, two columns) that is an invaluable research tool for work on Beothuk, since it enables one to pinpoint documents, letters, references (of which Howley's book is a veritable gold-mine) so that the researcher is able to piece together a variety of evidence into a single coherent picture. Miss Agnes O'Dea, Head of the Centre for Newfoundland studies,

and a peripatetic encyclopedia of Newfoundlandiana, aided me countless times in identifying individuals, events, documents, in finding references, and in obtaining photocopies of manuscripts and articles. Mrs. Isobel Pridmore, Archivist of the SPG in London, supplied me with information by correspondence, and gave me a complete overview of all items that might be of relevance or interest on the occasion of my two visits to the Archives. Miss Audrey Dawe from the Library of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, being herself a native Newfoundlander, was interested in the project from the beginning and was instrumental in turning up the two National Museum copies of the Peyton version of Leigh. Miss Margaret Holmes, County Archivist of Dorsetshire was also a most helpful correspondent who provided me with information and also searched parish registers (regrettably in vain) for a record of the burial of the little Beothuk girl Oubee, who is reported to have died in England. Mr. Victor DuPree also spent long hours in Dorsetshire looking for traces of Oubee, getting close enough to find the home, the parish church, and even the burial vault of Thomas Stone, the individual who adopted Oubee into his own family. The staff of the Archives of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington supplied me with information and photocopies, were helpful to me on the occasion of my visit there, and generously collaborated in supplying us with photocopies for publication. The Manuscript Department of the Library of the British Museum also provided me with the help of a research assistant during my visit there and furnished the photocopies of the Pulling manuscript, and permission to publish. The Newfoundland Museum allowed me to examine Shanawdithit's original drawings with Cormack's hand written comments. The Newfoundland Archives allowed me to photocopy the Clinch MS, the original Leigh MS, and the Liverpool MS, and made the Clinch and Leigh vocabularies available for publication in photo reproduction. Paul Carignan was instrumental in setting up this volume as a Technical Paper of the Newfoundland Museum; after his departure Jim Thistle ably and amicably supervised the work of seeing it into print. Ben Hanson and his staff of the Photographic Services of Memorial University, who in recent years have produced so much superb work, gave valuable assistance with the photographic details. Susan Shaffer did the preliminary as well as the final typing, and her remarkable eye for detail was invaluable not only for the orderly presentation of a complex material, but also for the picking out of dubious items and items to be checked.

John Hewson

Notes on the Spellings

Since many older spellings in -ck (e.g., Catholick, publick) have today been simplified (it being unnecessary to write both c and k) the spelling Beothuk has been used throughout, except in direct citations from other authors. Since the evidence of the Beothuk language shows that this word was a plural, there is no need to add a further s, it being perfectly appropriate to say "The Beothuk were. . .", especially since so many names of peoples do not add s for plurals: the English, the French, the Portuguese. (One does not say "The Portugueses are. . .").

I have also consistently written Shanawdithit since that was the spelling of Cormack, under whose guidance Shanawdithit made the drawings which are now in the Newfoundland Museum. Cormack also writes Shawnawdithit and Shannadithit, never Shananditti, a corruption of the name which is not found in any document of the time, but has become a fairly common pronunciation among Newfoundlanders. The corrupted form of the name is out of place, of course, in any work of a serious kind (one would not write a life of St. Nicholas, for example, referring to the saint by the corrupted form of his name: Santa Claus).

I also spell Algonkian, not Algonquian. The early spellings of the name are French, and even if one writes the form with qu, the traditional pronunciation has always been -kian. (The French likewise write Esquimau where we spell Eskimo for example). The perpetuation of the spelling in -quian leads, inevitably, to a spelling-pronunciation -kwian. The same is true of Algonkin and Algonquin, both pronounced -kin according to the Dictionary of Americanisms. To be consistent, and avoid spellings that mislead, I write Algonkin and Algonkian. (It is surprising that it is linguists who perpetuate the spelling in qu, whereas geologists and others have, for decades, used the spelling k).

Chapter 1
The Historical Background

The Beothuk Indians of Newfoundland were among the first peoples of the North American continent to be contacted by Europeans. Cartier in his first voyage of 1534 relates how he reached the Newfoundland coast in the month of May, and comments that the natives were tall and well built, and had the habit of covering themselves with red ochre. This custom, commented on by many of the early explorers and writers, gave rise to the term 'Red Indian', which has since become a generic term for North American Indians.[1]

The first contacts with the Beothuk appear to have been peaceful. When Sir Humprey Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland in the name of Queen Elizabeth I in 1583, he sent expeditions along the coasts both North and South from St. John's. The results, according to Hakluyt, were the conclusions that the southern part of the island was uninhabited and that the natives they found along the north east coast were certainly not hostile: "Towards the north they met with some of them who approached without dread and appeared to be of gentle disposition".

This is confirmed by the narratives of John Guy, who founded the first official colony in Newfoundland in 1610. In November 1612 Guy led an expedition into Trinity Bay and there met and traded with the Indians. The contact was friendly and, in fact, full of joy: Guy mentions laughter and dancing and singing.

At what point these friendly contacts turned into open hostilities it is difficult to determine. The French from 1610 onwards were arming their vessels for the fishery that was based on the Great Northern Peninsula; they report many of their number killed by the natives and the purpose of arming the vessels was to enable them to fish in peace without fear of depredation.[2] Sir David Kirke, writing in 1640, mentions that the year after Guy's friendly contact a fishing boat sailed into Trinity Bay, and the Indians, thinking it was Guy's boat, assembled on the shore to greet him. The fishing skipper, however, was afraid of the crowd of Indians and fired into their midst.

It is undoubtedly this kind of event, probably repeated more than once, which led to the open hostilities between Beothuk and European for two centuries until the extinction of the Beothuk in the early nineteenth century.

One must be careful with these early narratives, however, since not all references to "Newfoundland" and "naturals", "natives" or "savages" refer explicitly to the Beothuk. The term Newfoundland was used in the early days to designate all the new found lands of the North-West Atlantic, and some of the narratives concern Micmac, Montagnais, Huron and Eskimo. At the end of the narrative of Cartier's first voyage, for example, there is a vocabulary of the language of Newfoundland. Examination, however, reveals that the language is Iroquoian, probably Huron, and is undoubtedly a specimen of the speech of the two Indian boys that Cartier picked up at Gaspé and took back to France. Other narratives of the Indians of "New-Found-Land" include references culled from Champlain's contacts with the Montagnais at Tadoussac, and from Lescarbot's accounts in Nova Francia[3] of the Micmacs of Nova Scotia. It is not impossible, for example, that the natives encountered by the French on the Great Northern Peninsula could have been Montagnais, or even Eskimo, since there are historical records of battles between Montagnais and Eskimo along the Quebec North Shore, the Belle Isle Strait and the coast of Southern Labrador (Gosling 1911:165-7).

Whatever the event, hostilities against the Beothuk by both white settlers and Micmac reached such a point that the Beothuk were hunted like wild animals and shot on sight, man, woman and child. Never having obtained firearms or learned their use, the Beothuk

fled into the woods at the sound of a shot, and were consequently entirely at the mercy of the settlers and the Micmac. Many utterly brutal and savage incidents are recorded and, with the recent discovery of the Pulling manuscript[4], covert allusions were made to some kind of a massacre perpetrated by the settlers in the 1780's when they penetrated the winter quarters of the Beothuk by marching up the Exploits River on the ice.

The Pulling manuscript itself undoubtedly stems from the concern that was being felt about the treatment of the Indians by the clergy, the magistrates, the governors and the more humane elements among the white settlers. George C. Pulling, a naval officer frequently mentioned in the diaries of Benjamin Lester (a merchant with premises at both Poole in England and Trinity, Newfoundland), travelled up the North-East coast in the summer of 1792 talking to the settlers about their relationship with the Indians. The so-called Pulling manuscript is the report that he may have intended to make to the official Parliamentary inquiry of 1793 into the "State of the Trade to Newfoundland". The Chairman of the enquiry was the Earl of Liverpool, and another shorter version of the Pulling report known as the "Liverpool Manuscript" was acquired by the Newfoundland Provincial Archives from the estate of the first Earl of Liverpool.[5]

The Pulling manuscript, unknown to earlier writers on the Beothuk such as James P. Howley,[6] also identifies the native informant of the earliest of the extant Beothuk vocabularies, the so-called Clinch Vocabulary, (named for the Rev. John Clinch, Anglican missionary at Trinity who apparently contributed the vocabulary to the Letter Book of the Governor of the day in September of 1800). Pulling recounts how a little Indian girl was brought into captivity, and how she was taken into the family of Thomas Stone, another Poole-Trinity merchant, friend of Pulling and Benjamin Lester, and another individual frequently mentioned in the Lester diaries. At the end of the Pulling manuscript there is a vocabulary, identical for the most part to the Clinch vocabulary, but which gives as its first item "Oubee - the little girl that lives with Mr. Stone". When one compares this entry with the gloss in the Clinch vocabulary that reads "Oubee - her own name" it becomes clear that this little girl, taken back to England with the Stones in 1792 was the informant for the Pulling and Clinch vocabularies.

The concern of various parties to put an end to hostilities with the Beothuk and to bring about a renewal of peaceful contact led to a number of schemes, seemingly cursed to be either abortive or disastrous. Governor Gambier, for example, in 1803 offered a reward to anyone who would bring in a captive who could be presented with gifts and sent back on an errand of peace. As a result William Cull of Fogo brought in a Beothuk woman in the summer of 1803. She was given every consideration by Governor Gambier in St. John's and sent back to her people loaded down with gifts of all kinds, but nothing is known of her subsequent fate.[7]

In 1807, Governor Holloway also issued a proclamation offering a reward of fifty pounds to any person who might be able to ". . . induce or persuade any of the male Tribe of Native Indians to attend them to the Town of St. John's". The Governor also offered an equal sum to anyone giving "information of any murder committed upon the bodies of the aforesaid Indians and being proved upon the oath of one or more credible witnesses". These offers produced no tangible results.

In the following year Admiral Holloway wrote to the British government requesting that a picture be painted "representing the Indians and Europeans in a Group", and that this picture be taken, along with goods, on a trading mission to the Indians. The picture was

completed and the same summer, a vessel despatched to Exploits Bay that year and again in 1809, but to no avail: the Indians were far too careful to allow themselves within sight of an armed schooner.

Before the completion of his term as Governor, Admiral Holloway also employed the same William Cull of Fogo to make a winter voyage with a group up the Exploits River on the ice. They went about as far as the modern town of Badger, where they sighted a couple of Indians and came across the winter storage houses in which the Beothuk kept their winter supply of caribou meat, stocked from the slaughter of the animals as they crossed the Exploits in their Fall migrations. They also observed the deer fences which were used to herd the caribou into selected river crossings, and conjectured that the winter dwellings of the Indians must be near. They went no further, however, and returned home again without any tangible results.

The next Governor, Sir John Duckworth, doubled the offered reward to one hundred pounds, and warned the settlers that murder of an Indian would bring the death penalty. Another armed schooner, under Lieutenant Buchan, again spent the summer in Bay of Exploits, but without seeing any trace of Indians. Buchan decided to winter in the bay, and to proceed up the river on the winter ice, as had been done successfully on several earlier expeditions.

This led to the ill-fated Buchan expedition of 1811. Buchan managed to reach the Indian encampment on Red Indian Lake on 24 January in spite of foul weather and hard going which had caused him to leave his main stores of presents at a camp on the Exploits twelve miles from the lake. Having surprised the Indians still asleep in the early morning, he managed, after their initial terrified shock, to persuade them of his friendly intentions, and after three and a half hours of conciliations he persuaded four Indians to return with him to his supply camp, leaving two Marines at the Lake, without arms, as a sign of good faith. Two of the Indians turned back on reaching the head of the river, and the third fled just before Buchan reached his camp, but the fourth remained with Buchan's party until the presents had been collected and return made to the lake. Here, however, they found the wigwams deserted, and the final Indian, having suddenly, in advance of the party, come upon the naked and headless bodies of the two marines, fled off across the lake into the scudding sleet. Howley (1915:91) expresses the opinion that Buchan "made a great mistake in taking along with him so many of the furriers" (i.e., trappers, the local settlers), and the Pulling manuscript bears out the soundness of his opinion: Thomas Taylor, one of Buchan's guides, is mentioned by Pulling as having taken part of the incursion upriver in January 1791 and the depredation upon the Indian encampment that was the goal of that expedition. With such a man present in Buchan's company, it was inevitable that the Indians would be suspicious, even hostile.

Buchan had therefore to abandon his expedition and a further one in March did not even reach the lake. He seems to have attempted to make contact with the Beothuk on subsequent occasions, but there is no record of these expeditions. Meanwhile reports of continuing hostility on the part of the Indians still streamed in to the authorities from the settlers of the North-East coast of the island. To put these into perspective it is necessary to point out that the white settlers were encroaching, with every year that passed, upon the traditional summer fishing grounds of the Beothuk, offering these latter the choice of being starved or being butchered.

One such report, or complaint, was presented by John Peyton, who had established a

salmon fishery in the Bay of Exploits itself, and whose boat, loaded with salmon and personal belongings for a trip to St. John's, had been cut adrift and rifled by the Beothuk in the early hours of the morning in September 1818. Peyton complained to the authorities in St. John's, who were reluctant to believe his story. The Governor of the day, however, Admiral Sir Charles Hamilton, gave Peyton permission to search for his stolen property, and to capture an Indian alive, if possible.

This led to another disastrous expedition. In March 1819, John Peyton, his father John Peyton, Sr., and a half a dozen furriers reached Red Indian Lake, captured an Indian woman, subsequently called Mary March by the Europeans, and returned to Twillingate. Garbled accounts survive of what happened on the ice at Red Indian Lake: it is clear that the Indians fled on the approach of the furriers, that the younger Peyton dropped what he was carrying and took off in pursuit, catching up with Mary March, who, it was subsequently learned from Shanawdithit, had given birth to a child only two days before. Her husband returned to claim her; after a long and unsuccessful parley there was a scuffle, and her husband was killed. The details differ in the various acounts, but it is obvious that the presence of several of the furriers, known to the Indians for their earlier marauding expeditions, and of John Peyton Sr., equally well known for his depredations against them,[8] inhibited any hope of a peaceful and amicable outcome to the expedition.

Mary March, whose Indian name was Demasduwit or Waunathoake (and perhaps also Shendoreth, unless this name, which appears in a letter quoted by Howley (1915:112) is due to a confusion) was placed in the care of the Rev. John Leigh, Anglican missionary at Twillingate, who that summer collected from her a sample of the words of her language and composed what is commonly known as the Leigh vocabulary. She was also taken to St. John's, given presents for her family and people, and having learned a few words of English, was to be returned at once to her people. The British navy was unable to make contact with them along the coast, the one canoe that was spotted quickly disappearing ashore. The former haunts in Bay of Exploits were now all deserted, and Captain Buchan, who had led the disastrous expedition of 1811 was ordered to prepare for another winter expedition to Red Indian Lake, taking Mary March with him.[9] To add to the tale of disasters, on January 8, 1820, Mary March died of tuberculosis on board Buchan's ship Grasshopper, tied up in Peter's Arm of the Exploits for wintering. Buchan set out with her corpse and a party of fifty, reaching Red Indian Lake after much difficulty (because of mild weather) on February 11. They found no Indians, and left the corpse of Mary March in a burial house apparently made for her husband, returning by a different route to the ship at Peter's Arm —— another fruitless and pathetic expedition.

By 1823 this once numerous tribe, which had maintained 40 miles of deer fences along the Exploits and frequented the whole North-East coast of the Island of Newfoundland, was reduced to a mere handful, a total of fifteen individuals, of whom 12 set out westwards, and three, making their way to the seacoast in a starving condition, were taken into captivity by a party of furriers.

These three were Shanawdithit, her mother and her sister. Brought to St. John's, they were returned to the Exploits with many gifts and presents in the early summer of 1825 —— a fatuous exercise, given that the Beothuk had long before forsaken the Bay of Exploits because the English settlers had taken it over, and that the three women (at this stage unable to communicate with the English), knew that the remnant of their people had gone westward from the Badger Brook area, which was already a 50 mile journey to the west of the Bay of Exploits.

Shanawdithit's sister died here at Charles' Brook in the Bay of Exploits, and she and her mother paddled up to Lower Sandy Point, John Peyton's fishing station a few miles up the bay. Here they were taken in, but Shanawdithit's mother also died within a few days, and she was buried at Sandy Point. Shanawdithit was then sent down to Exploits Island to Mr. Peyton's house, where she remained until 1828 (Howley 1915:282).

In the Fall of 1828 she was brought to St. John's by the newly founded "Beothuck Institute", an organization of concerned Newfoundlanders. William Epps Cormack, a remarkable man, eccentric and of truly incredible energy, was the President and founder of the Institute. Cormack had already distinguished himself six years earlier as the first white man to walk across the Island of Newfoundland -- three hundred miles through virgin wilderness -- accompanied only by a Micmac guide, a journey undertaken in the hope of falling in with the 'Red Indians'. Now he took Shanawdithit into his house, where she stayed until he left the country in the spring of 1829, when she was transferred to the care of another member of the Institute, a Mr. Charles Simms who was at the time the Attorney General of the Colony. (It was a Mr. Simms, great grandson of the above, who presented to the Newfoundland Museum in 1963 the hand painted Indian robe that, according to the oral tradition of the Simms family, had belonged to Shanawdithit.)

Cormack reports (Howley 1915:225) that although Shanawdithit "...had been five years and upwards amongst the English, upon her arrival the second time in St. John's she spoke so little English that those only who were accustomed to her gibberish, could understand her. By persevering attention now however, to instruct her, she acquired confidence and became enabled to communicate ... She had a natural talent for drawing, and being at all times supplied with paper and pencils of various colours, she was enabled to communicate what would otherwise have been lost". Cormack in fact, obtained from Shanawdithit considerable particulars concerning her people, their numbers, their way of life, their own view of recent events, their myths and their language. All of this was obtained in six short months between Shanawdithit's arrival in St. John's on 20 September 1828 (Howley 1915:225) and Cormack's departure for England in the Spring of 1829.

Shanawdithit's health was failing, however, since she had contracted tuberculosis, a white man's disease to which her people had little or no resistance, and which had already occasioned the death of her sister and her mother. She died on 6 June 1829, her burial being recorded in the register of the Anglican Cathederal, giving an age of 23 years. She is presumed to have been the last of her people. If any survived at all, they must have made their way across the Belle Isle strait and joined the Montagnais of the Quebec North Shore, a people with whom they always maintained friendly relations. Speck noted, in fact that a greater use of red ochre was to be found among the Montagnais Indians of the St. Augustin band of the Quebec North Shore, than among any other groups of the Montagnais–Naskapi, and commented that there was historical and ethnographic evidence "of a relationship with the former Beothuk". He added in a footnote: "Cabot (correspondence 1930) thinks that the Poker or Puckway family may be of Newfoundland origin" (Speck 1931:588).

From the three sources therefore -- Oubee, Demasduit and Shanawdithit, we have some 350 items of vocabulary written down by untrained listeners who knew nothing of the language they were recording, who wrote what they thought they heard in the Roman alphabet that is used, in a quite unsystematic way, for spelling English. These original vocabularies were then copied, frequently carelessly, by others, so that manuscripts and printed copies exist today that are, regrettably, garbled versions of garbled versions. In the pages that follow, whatever original manuscripts remain will be presented in photocopy form, so that the original forms may be determined, with which subsequent corruptions may be compared.

PLATE 1

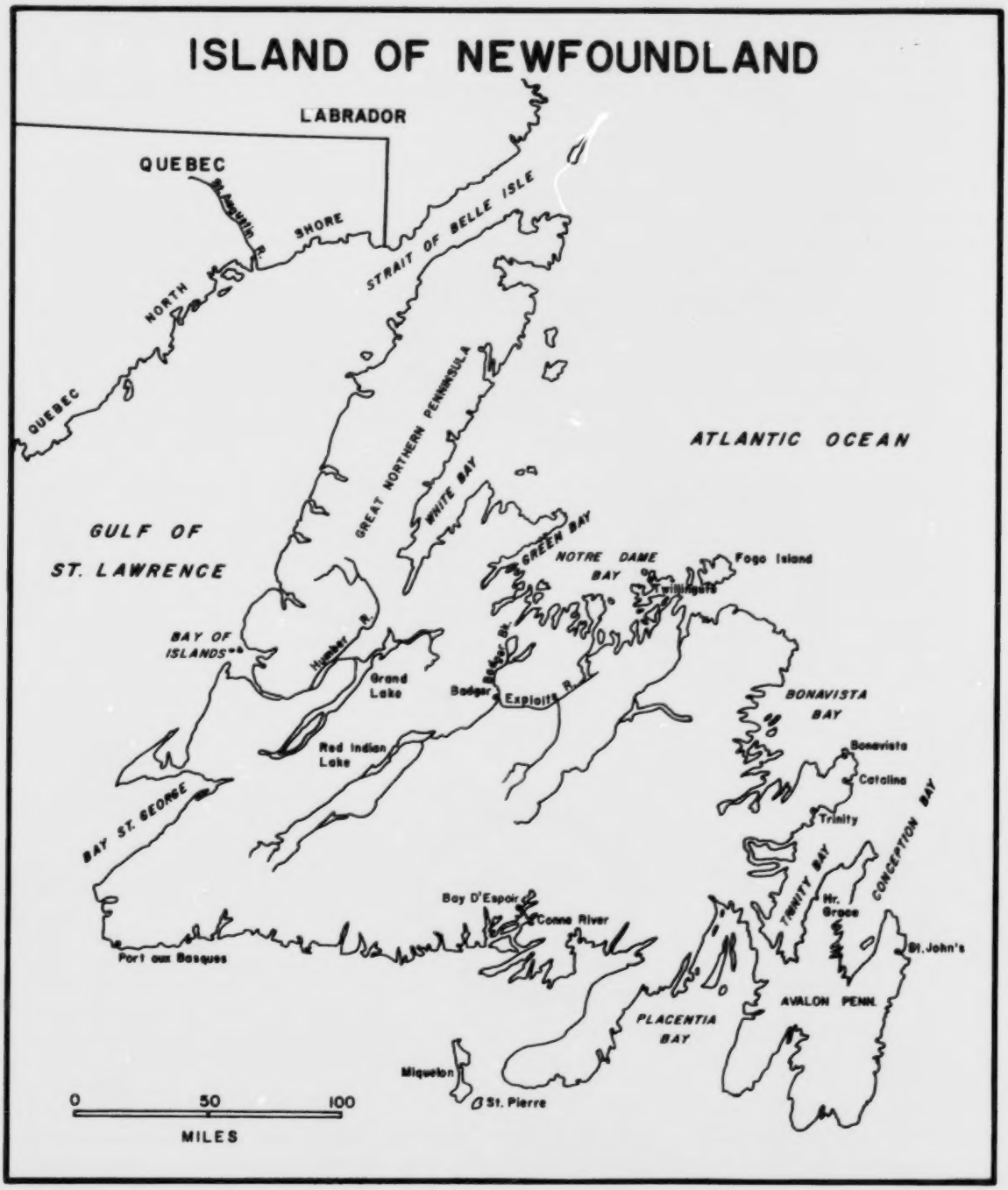

ISLAND OF NEWFOUNDLAND
LABRADOR
QUEBEC
St. Augustin R.
SHORE
NORTH
QUEBEC
STRAIT OF BELLE ISLE
GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA
WHITE BAY
GREEN BAY
NOTRE DAME BAY
Fogo Island
Twillingate
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE
BAY OF ISLANDS
Humber R.
Grand Lake
Badger
Exploits R.
BONAVISTA BAY
Bonavista
Catalina
Trinity
Red Indian Lake
BAY ST. GEORGE
Bay D'Espoir
Conne River
TRINITY BAY
CONCEPTION BAY
Hr. Grace
St. John's
Port aux Basques
AVALON PENN.
PLACENTIA BAY
Miquelon
St. Pierre
0
50
100
MILES

PLATE 2

EXPLOITS RIVER BASIN
NOTRE DAME BAY
Burnt Island
Twillingate
Beaver Head Cove
Exploits Island
INDIAN ARM
Point of Bay
Peter's Arm
Sandy Point
Badger
Exploits
Gander Lake
Sheffield Lake
Sandy Lake
Grand Lake
Red Indian Lake
0
10
20
MILES

Chapter 2
The Oubee Vocabulary

The Pulling manuscript gives a detailed account of the circumstances that led to the sojourn of the little Beothuk girl Oubee among the white settlers (Pulling 1792:20-23):[10]

"An account of the taking of the Indian girl last summer (who is now with Mr. Stone in England) as related to me by Richard Richmond and Thomas Taylor.

Thomas Taylor, William Hooper and Richard Richmond went to Charles's Brook in July 1791 in pursuit of some Indians who they had reason to think were there and had stolen some of their salmon nets, traps, etc.

Charles's Brook is about three leagues from Miller's dwelling house and but a very little way from Indian Cove where I was with Richard Richmond on Sunday last. The party went from Miller's house and landed about a mile before they came to the brook and walked until they came to a pond where they saw a punt which they told me enraged them more against the Indians who they knew must be nigh at hand. They told me they imagined the Indians had killed the people belonging to the punt. This was their excuse to me for the following brutal behaviour.

Soon after they saw the punt they saw a wigwam and came within twenty yards of it before any of the Indians made their appearance. Two women came out before any of the others which they allowed to go away unmolested. But on a man coming out with a child under his arm and looking sternly at Richard Richmond he modestly requested of Thomas Taylor to fire for Richard Richmond told me so and said he did not fire himself as he wished to keep his loading in reserve in case they should be many of them in the wigwam.

Taylor fired and wounded the man in the thigh and the little boy in his heel. The man dropped his child and was making off as fast as he could in his situation when William Hooper (to be revenged as he told Richard Richmond for the Indians killing his father) fired and struck him between his shoulders. The Indian fell and soon expired.

The rest fled into the woods all except the girl who is now with Mr. Stone and the wounded child who they left on the ground. The girl they caught ere she could run far and brought away with them.

There were eight Indians in the whole and the Christians did them no harm as they expressed to me except killing a man, wounding a boy, and bringing away a girl who did not seem averse to accompany them and as they justly observe is now very well off. To be sure they did them a little more injury by burning a canoe they had been building, but that's nothing.

From corroborating circumstances those Indians were a party that had a few weeks before been chased ashore by two men residents of Twillingate whose names are Hicks and Verge.

These two men were in their boat when they saw a canoe of Indians which they drove ashore between Beaver Cove Head and Cape Farewell. The Indians not having time to take their canoe into the woods with them left her in the landwash with a rock in the bow of her hoping that would prevent her floating off. Some of the Indians climbed up amongst the cliffs oposite their canoe and prevented Hicks and Verge landing and when they presented either of their pieces at the Indians they dodged behind the cliffs and made sport of them. But, unfortunately for the poor savages, in the height of their fun a sea came and washed off their canoe which Hicks and Verge bore away triumphantly making sport at the Indians in return who when they saw their misfortune tore their hair and seemed almost frantic. Those

Indians must have travelled through the woods a number of miles for they went from Beaver Cove Head to Indian Arm where they took away a punt belonging to Mr. Lester with three salmon nets and crossed over to Charles's Brook where three of Miller's humane heroes came up with them. Joseph Harnet the man who carries on the fishery for Mr. Lester at Indian Arm described his punt to Mr. Miller's crew which proved to be the same. I saw it at Upper Sandy Point yesterday."

At the end of his 50 page account of the settlers' relations with the Indians, Pulling gives a vocabulary, in which he gives Ou-bee as "The Name of the Indian Girl who lives with Mr. Stone". We are entitled to conclude that this vocabulary, written down in 1792, one year after Oubee's capture and three years before her reported death, was composed from information provided by Oubee herself.

This is corroborated by the fact that this is the same vocabulary which is written into the Letter Book of Governor Waldegrave in September 1800 as the vocabulary of the Rev. John Clinch of Trinity, since in the Clinch version of the vocabulary we find the gloss "Oubee – her own name", indicating unambiguously that Oubee is the informant.

We now have, therefore, two manuscript copies of this, the most ancient of the Beothuk vocabularies, and we now know definitively, since the discovery of the Pulling manuscript, that the Indian informant was unquestionably Oubee, who is identified by Pulling as the girl who was captured in 1791, and who is also mentioned in Benjamin Lester's diaries as Thomas Stone's "Indian girl".

The burial registers of several Dorsetshire parishes have been searched for a record of Oubee's reported death in or around 1795, but no trace of her has ever come to light in the records in England.[11]

We know from other narratives of the time and from the burial registers at Trinity[12] that Oubee was not the only orphan to be reared among the settlers. John Cartwright tells us of the murder of an Indian woman in August 1768, and the seizure of her child, subsequently named John August after the month in which he was abducted, and his brother George Cartwright[13] mentions in his diary (15 June 1785) that he met this same individual seventeen years later at Catalina. John Cartwright, the first white man to see Red Indian Lake, in the summer of 1768 when the Beothuk were at the coast, also mentions the Indian boy Tom June, likewise named for the month of his abduction. June apparently gave Cartwright information about Red Indian Lake (Howley 1915:43-4) and according to several sources remained in contact with his own family[14] (Howley 1915;59) and even introduced them to his white patron (Howley 1915:288). He was employed as a boatsmaster at Fogo and was reportedly drowned when his skiff capsized in the narrow and dangerous gut leading to Fogo Harbour (Howley 1915:58, 273).

If Oubee was the informant of the Pulling and Clinch vocabularies, who was the reporter? All the evidence points to Clinch, who came to Newfoundland and settled as a medical practitioner at Bonavista in 1775. Moving to Trinity in 1783 at the age of 36, he married a local girl in the following year. He responded to a late vocation to the Anglican ministry, was ordained in 1787 and looked after the spiritual and physical well-being of the inhabitants of Trinity and the surrounding areas until his death on 22 September 1819. He had been a fellow student and friend of Edward Jenner (also, like Clinch, from Gloucestershire) and when Jenner developed smallpox vaccination, Clinch introduced the procedure to Newfoundland, vaccinating his own children in order to convince the settlers

of its efficacity. It is probable, as a consequence, that Clinch should be given the honour of having introduced smallpox vaccination to the New World.

A man of such interests, and a missionary withal, could be expected to show an interest in an Indian language, since a knowledge of the language would be required to translate the Scriptures for use in the vernacular. Clinch, however, to judge from his annual reports to the SPG[15] was laconic and not given to discussing his interests, and the only definite evidence we have linking him with the vocabulary is the heading in the governor's Letter Book of 1800: "The Rev. John Clinch of Trinity's Vocabulary of the language of the Native Indians Residing in the Island of Newfoundland".

In the correlation of the Pulling and Clinch vocabularies that follows the entries have all been listed by English gloss, with the Pulling version (being the earlier) listed first. With each item a reference is given to its place in the manuscript to facilitate reference to the original for every item. For example, the item "Oubee – The Name of the Indian Girl who lives with Mr. Stone" can be found on the first line of the first page of Pulling's manuscript and would consequently be referenced 1.1. The gloss "Oubee – Her own Name" would be referenced 2.17 in the Clinch vocabulary, since it occurs on line 17 of the second column.

Listing of the Vocabularies

1	Back	P.	posson, 2.8;
		C.	posson, 2.6
2	Beast	P.	ob-ditch, 4.14;
		C.	ob-ditch, 1.22
3	Beating	P.	pug-a-thuse, 4.18;
		C.	pug-a-thuse, 4.6
4	Birch rind or paper	P.	pau-shee, 1.23;
		C.	pau-shee, 1.23
5	Bird (large)	P.	po-pa-dish, 2.25;
		C.	po-pa-dish, 2.27
6	Bird (little)	P.	ou-ner-mish, 2.24;
		C.	ou-ner-mish, 2.26
7	Bird's excrement	P.	su-ga-math, 4.25
		C.	su-ga-mith, 4.18
8	Blood	P.	arrow-bauth, 3.21;
		C.	arro-bauth, 1.2
9	Blow your nose	P.	she-ga-me, 4.12;
		C.	she-ga-me, 1.17
10	Boat or canoe	P.	thub-a-thew, 1.7;
		C.	thub-a-thew, 3.22

11.	Body	P.	hadda-bothy, 1.25;
		C.	hadda-bothy, 1.25
12	Bow	P.	ha-the-may, 1.3;
		C.	ha-the-may, 2.22
13	Break a stick	P.	pug-e-non, 3.16;
		C.	pug-e-non, 3.25
14	Break wind	P.	te-diddle, 4.24;
		C.	p-diddle, 4.17
15	Catching fish	P.	esh-bauth, 4.23;
		C.	esh-bauth, 4.13
16	Chin	P.	ke-oun, 3.13;
		C.	the-oun, 3.17
17	Coal	P.	methie, 4.10;
		C.	mithie, 1.14
18	Currants	P.	sham-ye, 2.13;
		C.	sham-ye, 2.11
19	Cutting	P.	hodg-us-um, 1.15;
		C.	hady-ys-um, 4.14
20	Crying	P.	mau-the-au-thaw, 3.26;
		C.	mau-the-au-thaw, 1.19
21	Dancing	P.	thub-wed-gie, 2.27;
		C.	thub-wed-gie, 3.2
22	Dirt	P.	yew-why, 4.9;
		C.	yew-why, 1.13
23	Dogberries	P.	me-no-me, 4.16;
		C.	me-no-me, 3.29
24	Ear	P.	mis-muth, 2.15;
		C.	mis-muth, 2.13
25	Eating	P.	pug-a-zoo, 2.21;
		C.	pug-a-zoa, 4.26
26	Elbow	P.	moo-cus, 2.12;
		C.	moo-cus, 2.10
27	Eyebrow	P.	mome-augh, 3.23;
		C.	mome-augh, 1.3

28	Feather	P.	eve-nau, 2.6;
		C.	eve-nau, 2.3
29	Fire	P.	koorae, 2.12;
		C.	koo-rae, 2.23
30	Fish	P.	poo-push-raut, 2.7;
		C.	poo-pus-rout, 2.5
31	Fishing line	P.	dis-up, 2.19;
		C.	dis-up, 2.19
32	Flea	P.	kess-yet, 5.3;
		C.	kess-yet, 4.20
33	Flying	P.	me-a-woth, 5.5;
		C.	mi-a-woth, 4.28
34	Foot or fool	P.	hod-witch, foot. 1.24;
		C.	hod-witch, fool, 1.24
35	Fork	P.	po-pa-de-aden, 4.5;
		C.	pa-pa-de-aden, 1.8
36	Fur or hair of a beast	P.	peatha, 1.22;
		C.	peatha, 1.21
37	Goose (wild)	P.	yew-one, 5.4;
		C.	yew-one, 4.27
38	Grass	P.	shisth, 5.1;
		C.	shisth, 4.24
39	Groaning	P.	chee-a-shit, 3.24;
		C.	chee-a-shit, 1.12
40	Gun	P.	hur-reen, or huz-seen, 1.4;
		C.	harreen, 3.18
41	Hair	P.	donna, 2.18;
		C.	don-na, 2.16
42	Hands or finger	P.	me-men, 2.11;
		C.	me-men, 2.9
43	Hatchet	P.	now-aut, 1.12;
		C.	now-aut, 4.2
44	Head	P.	ke-aw-thaw, 2.5;
		C.	keaw-thaw, 2.3

45	Hiccups	P.	mudg-raw, 3.9;
		C.	mudy-raw, 3.13
46	Iron	P.	mau-a-gee-ne, 1.17;
		C.	mou-a-gee-ne, 4.21
47	Kissing	P.	she-both, 3.5;
		C.	she-both, 3.10
48	Knee	P.	hods-mishit, 2.2;
		C.	hods-mishit, 1.27
49	Kneeling	P.	a-bush-thib-e, 2.26;
		C.	a-bus-thib-e, 3.1
50	Knife	P.	yew-oin, 4.4;
		C.	yew-oin, 1.7
51	Laughing	P.	who-ish-me, 2.4;
		C.	who-ish-me, 2.2
52	Leaves	P.	madg-u-a, 4.6;
		C.	mady-u-a, 1.9
53	Leg	P.	co-ga-de-alla, 2.1;
		C.	co-ga-de-alla, 1.26
54	Lightning	P.	koorae, lightning or fire, 1.20;
		C.	coorae, lightning, 4.4 (see 29)
55	Lip	P.	coosh, 2.9;
		C.	coosh, 2.7
56	Louse	P.	cus-e-bee, 5.2;
		C.	cus-e-bee, 4.19
57	Lying	P.	pis-au-wau, laying, 2.28;
		C.	pis-au-wau, lying, 3.3
58	Man	P.	push-a-man, 1.13;
		C.	push-a-man, 4.7
59	Nails	P.	cush, 2.10;
		C.	cush, 2.8
60	Neck	P.	te-de-sheet, 4.20;
		C.	te-de-sheet, 4.9
61	Needle	P.	(see Pin);
		C.	tuz-mus, 4.16

62	Oakum or tow	P.	mush-a-bauth, 4.3;
		C.	mush-a-bauth, 1.6
63	Oar	P.	poodg-be-a, 1.5;
		C.	poody-be-ac, 3.20
64	Partridge or fowl	P.	sus-ut, 3.14;
		C.	sus-ut, 3.19
65	Partridge berries	P.	shau-da-me, 4.17;
		C.	shau-da-me, 3.30
66	Pin	P.	tus-mus, pin or needle, 3.12;
		C.	tus-mug, pin, 3.16 (see 61)
67	Rain	P.	pedth-au, 1.18;
		C.	pedth-ae, 4.5
68	Rolling	P.	od-au-sot, 4.22;
		C.	od-au-sot, 4.12
69	Rowing	P.	huzza-gan, 1.6;
		C.	huzza-gan, 3.21
70	Running	P.	wo-tha-ma-sha, 3.2;
		C.	wo-tha-ma-shee, 3.5
71	Scab	P.	peg-a-thee, 4.1;
		C.	pig-a-thee, 1.4
72	Scalping	P.	no-mus-rush-ke-aw-athaw, 3.17-18;
		C.	no-mash-nish ke-aw-thon, 4.30-31
73	Seal	P.	mom-au, 4.15;
		C.	mom-au, 3.28
74	Shaking hands	P.	me-men-mo-mas-rush, 3.19-20;
		C.	me-man-mom-asthus, 3.8
75	Shoot an arrow perpendicularly	P.	ou-thaje-arra-thun-um, 1.9;
		C.	ou-the-je-arra-thun-um, 3.26
76	Shoot a gun	P.	hod-thoo, 1.8;
		C.	hod-thoo, 3.24
77	Shoulder	P.	mo-me-za-bethon, 2.14;
		C.	mo-me-za-bethon, 2.12
78	Singing	P.	tu-au-thaw, 3.27;
		C.	tu-au-thow, 1.20

79	Sitting	P.	had-dos-do-ding, 3.4;
		C.	ha-dos-do-ding, 3.7
80	Sleep	P.	puth-u-auth, 3.25;
		C.	puth-u-auth, 1.16
81	Smoke	P.	poss-thee, 4.2;
		C.	poss-thee, 1.5
82	Sneezing	P.	midg-u-thew, 3.22;
		C.	midy-a-thew, 1.1
83	Snow	P.	(no gloss, but see 84);
		C.	corra-soob, 4.15
84	Sorrow	P.	corra-soob, 3.7;
		C.	corra-soob, 3.11
85	Spear	P.	han-nan, 1.10;
		C.	han-nan, 3.27
86	Spoon	P.	han-a-mait, 4.19;
		C.	han-a-mait, 4.8
87	Spruce	P.	traw-na-soo, 4.7
		C.	traw-na-soo, 1.10
88	Spruce rind	P.	sou-sot, 3.15;
		C.	sou-sot, 3.23
89	Standing	P.	king-abie, 3.1;
		C.	king-abie, 3.4
90	Stars	P.	so-ush-zeth, 5.7;
		C.	io-ush-zath, 4.25
91	Stone	P.	ou-gen, 2.22;
		C.	ou-gen, 2.24
92	Stooping	P.	hedg-yan, 3.8;
		C.	hedy-yan, 3.12
93	Sun or moon	P.	dew-is, 1.2;
		C.	dew-is, 2.18
94	Swimming	P.	tu-wed-gie, 1.16;
		C.	tu-wid-yie, 4.23
95	Teeth	P.	ou-ther-may, 2.16;
		C.	ou-ther-may, 2.14

96	Thigh	P.	ife-ween, 4.13;
		C.	ife-ween, 1.18
97	Throat	P.	te-de-sheet, 4.21;
		C.	te-de-sheet, 4.10 (see also 60 neck)
98	Throw a trap	P.	shaub-ab-un-eshaw, 3.11;
		C.	shaub-ab-un-e, 3.15
99	Throwing	P.	pug-a-tho, 1.14;
		C.	pub-a-tho, 4.11
100	Thumb	P.	pooith, 4.11;
		C.	poorth, 1.15
101	Thunder	P.	pe-to-tho-risk, 1.19;
		C.	pe-to-tho-risk, 4.3
102	Tongue	P.	me-ma-za, 2.17;
		C.	me-ma-za, 2.15
103	Trap or gin	P.	tib-e-thun, 3.10;
		C.	iib-e-thun, 3.14
104	Twine or thread	P.	me-roo-pish, 2.20;
		C.	me-roo-pish, 2.20
105	Walking	P.	wooth-yan, 3.3;
		C.	wooth-yan, 3.6
106	Walking stick	P.	chu-thing, 5.6;
		C.	chee-thing, 4.29
107	Warming yourself	P.	ob-osheen, 3.6;
		C.	ob-osheen, 3.9
108	Water	P.	ebau-thoo, 2.3;
		C.	e-bau-thoo, 2.1
109	Wind	P.	tis-ew-thum, 1.11;
		C.	tis-ew-thun, 4.1
110	Wood	P.	adiab, 2.23;
		C.	adiab, 2.25
111	Yawning	P.	ti-be-ath, 4.8;
		C.	ii-be-ath, 1.11

These listings give a very graphic illustration of the confusions that arise when unpractised observers attempt to report elements of a language they do not know, and from informants with whom communication is mostly through the medium of mime and gesture. Given

Proto-Algonkian (PA) *sǒ·mini currant, it is probable that item 18 was phonetically [šo-min], a probability supported by the fact that the element -min means berry in several Algonkian languages, and the only other berry names in this vocabulary are menome dogberries and shaudame partridgeberries, where again, in both cases, the element -min berry is reported without its final n. These items indicate that the reporter did not hear the word clearly before he attempted to spell it. Leigh, by contrast, gives jiggamint gooseberry, where the element -min berry is clearly recorded. (See Item 75 in the Mary March Vocabularies).

Likewise when we find in the Leigh vocabulary the gloss athep sit down, which relates to PA *eθapiwa he sits so, we must wonder at hadosdoding sitting (Item 79) in the Oubee vocabularies. The reporter understood, probably through mime or action, that the meaning was sitting, but it could just as easily mean take a rest, I don't know, or even We don't have anything like this, or other meanings, depending on the circumstances. The chances of subsequent deciphering of such confused items are remote.

Even when these items have been written down, however, they are subject to miscopying. There are many instances of such errors, here, and later on in the other vocabularies, where the errors are compounded to the point of utter confusion. As an example of what can happen, see item 98, where the last element of the Indian word (-shaw) in the Pulling vocabulary has been interpreted and copied in the Clinch vocabulary as two English words (I have): P. shaub-ab-un-eshaw to throw a trap
C. shaub-ab-un-e I have to throw a trap

Notes on the Vocabulary

1 Item 16. The eighteenth century capital K has been mistaken for Th in Clinch.

2 Items 19, 45, 52, 63, 82, 92 all have dg in Pulling, dy in Clinch. This appears to be a copying error but it is not possible to determine which is the original spelling.

3 Item 34. It is probable that the proper English gloss is foot not fool. The word occurs with a list of other body parts, and it is a likely element to ask for when naming parts of the body. King gives adyouth foot, which may be the same word, since it is probable that the initial h should be ignored: the phonetic form of the word may have been something like [odyiwiš]. Note, however, that Leigh gives aduse leg, which may also be this same word, and which is quite different from item 53 (leg) in the Oubee vocabularies.

4 Item 90. The initial s has been miscopied as an i in the Clinch vocabulary.

5 Item 93. According to the evidence of all other reporters this item should have initial k not d.

6 Item 96. This is the only f in the vocabulary. Clearly Beothuk had no /f/, and it is probable that this letter is a miscopying for p.

7 Item 100. Leigh gives pooeth; Howley recorded buit from Mrs. Jure (Howley 1915:182, 317).

8 Items 103, 111. Again it appears that initial t has been miscopied in the Clinch vocabulary.

Subsequent Copies of the Oubee Vocabularies

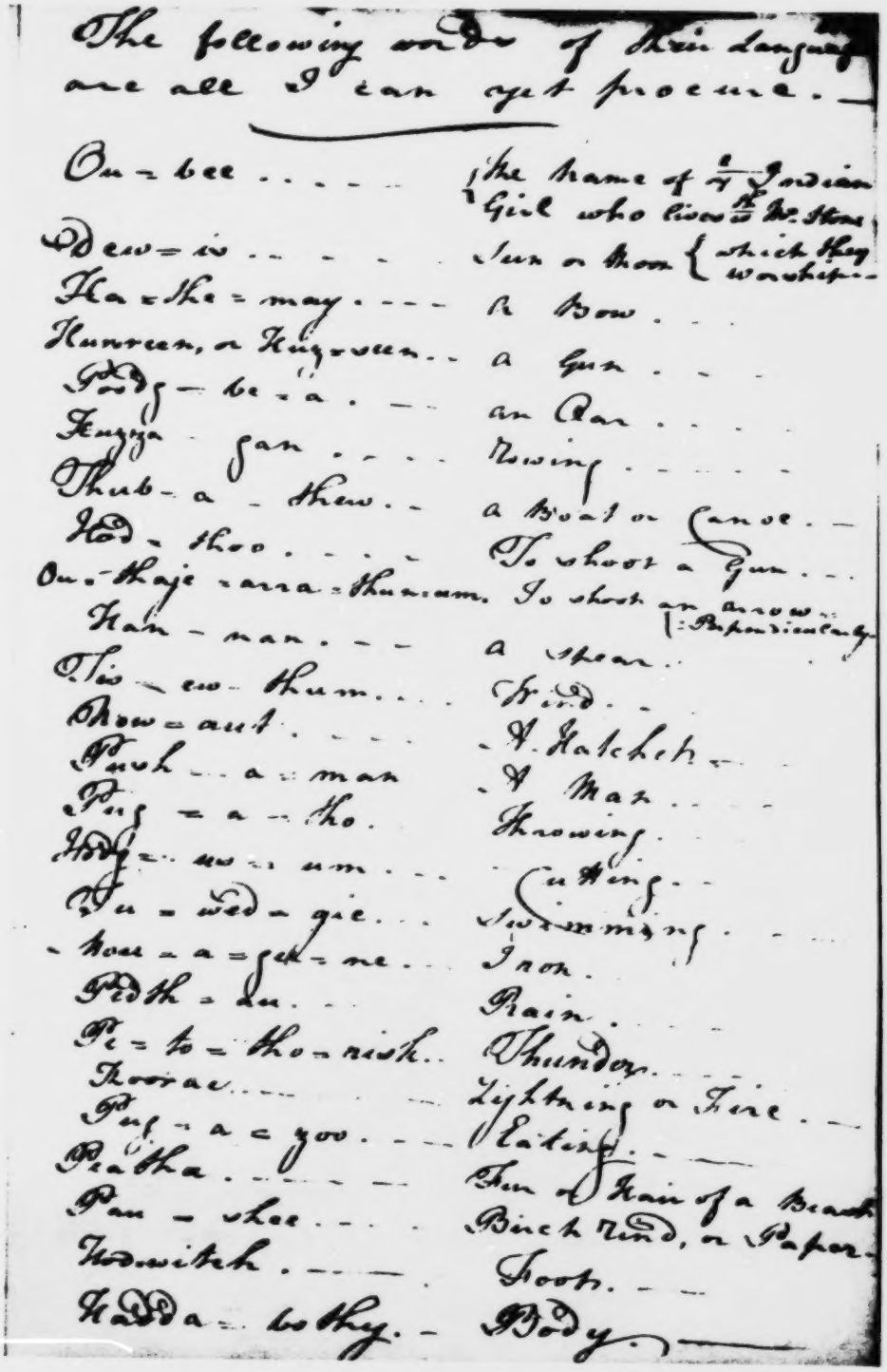
1 The *Harbour Grace Standard*, May 2, 1882. This published copy is full of errors because the copyist did not have sufficient knowledge of eighteenth century handwriting to decipher the original but it is of interest because it is reported as copied from the Clinch vocabulary as listed in the Harbour Grace Supreme Court Record Book for the year 1800. Perusal of the listings indicates, however, that the original is the Clinch version in the Governor's Letter Book, which may have been stored in the Harbour Grace Court House at the time. Clinch's glosses are given in exactly the same order, and the errors and uncertainties of the Governor's scribe are repeated indicating that the copies are alike in every way.

2. Albert S. Gatschet. Third paper read before the American Philosophical Society, January 3, 1890 (published in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 1890, and reprinted in Howley 1915:317-322). Gatschet also reports that he used the MS from the Harbour Grace Supreme Court Record Book, and it is of interest to compare his version with the extant MSS. He states that he received "a copy of the printed vocabulary" from Howley, undoubtedly the *Harbour Grace Standard* version, since he says, "It was full of typographic errors, and these were corrected by him (i.e., Howley) with the aid of a copy made of the original at Trinity[16] by Mrs. Edith Blake,[17] who took the greatest pains to secure accuracy". Perusal of Gatschet's listings again shows very clearly that the MS followed was either the Waldegrave version of Clinch or a copy identical in every particular, even to ambiguous letters and spellings.

3. "Beothuk Vocabularies, etc." by Rev. George Patterson, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1892, Section II, pp. 19-29. Patterson's commentary is not enlightening. Of the Clinch vocabulary he states, "it gives 'Owbeg (sic), her own name', showing clearly that it was taken down from a woman so named, and this could be no other than the woman captured by Cull in 1804". There is no way, of course, that a vocabulary written down in 1792, or even 1800, could be attributed to a woman captured in 1804. Patterson's citations are equally unhelpful. He starts from the badly garbled version of the Harbour Grace Standard, and adds a few slips of his own. His lists are followed by a commentary by the Rev. John Campbell, in which some 25 per cent of the citations are even further distorted, and largely contradictory lexical comparisons made first with other Algonkian languages, and then, incredibly, with Malayo-Polynesian. These papers are, regrettably, rather typical of the garbled nonsense that has so frequently been written about the Beothuk.

The Pulling Vocabulary

PLATE 3



The following words of their language are all I can yet procure.

On-bee	the Name of a Indian Girl who lives at the Stone
Dew-is	Sun or Moon { which they worship
Ha-she-may	a Bow
Hunreen, or Hugreen	a Gun
Pads-be-a	an Axe
Kuzza-san	Rowing
Thub-a-thew	a Boat or Canoe
Hod-thoo	To shoot a Gun
On-thaje-carra-thuream	To shoot an arrow. Expeditiously
Han-nan	a Spear
Tiw-ew-thum	Head
Thow-aut	A Hatchet
Puch-a-man	A Man
Pus-a-tho	Throwing
Hod-ew-um	Cutting
Du-wed-gie	Swimming
Thou-a-ge-ne	Iron
Pidth-du	Rain
Pe-to-tho-nish	Thunder
Koorae	Lightning or Fire
Pus-a-gow	Eating
Piatha	Hair of Skin of a Beast
Pan-thee	Birch Rind, or Paper
Hodwitch	Tooth
Hadda-wethy	Body

PLATE 4

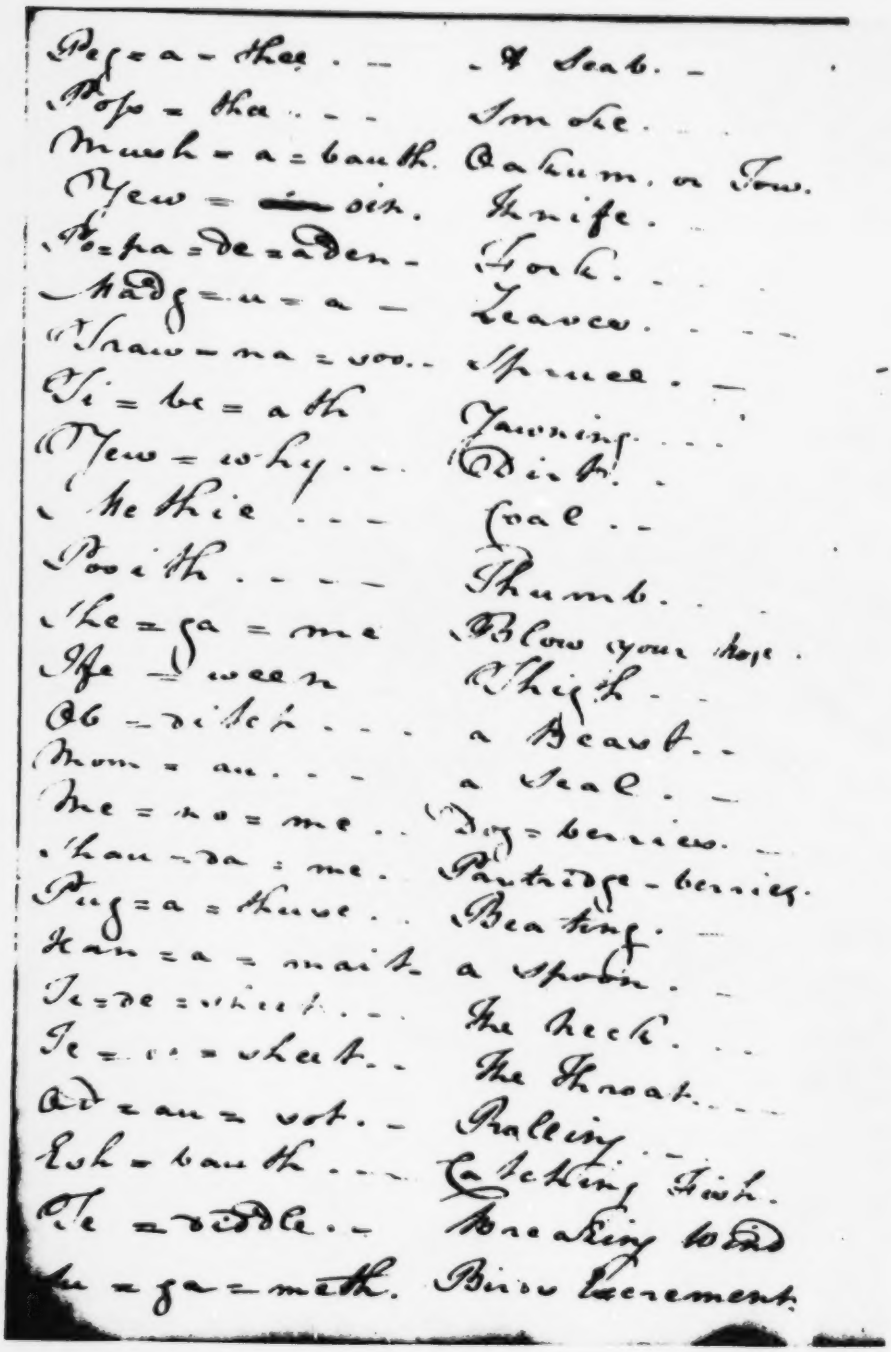

Pe = a = thee
Pop = tha
Mush = a = bauth
Yew = oik.
Po = pa = de = aden
Had = u = a
Shaw = na = voo
Ti = be = a th
Yew = why
Methie
Poith
She = sa = me
Ife = ween
Ab = dich
Hum = au
Me = no = me
Shau = da = me
Pug = a = thave
Han = a = mait
Te = de = wheat
Te = e = wheat
Ad = au = vot
Ruh = bauth
Te = ddle
Le = ga = meth
& Scab
Smoke
Calum, or Tow
Knife
Fork
Leaves
Sheet
Yawning
Dirth
Coal
Thumb
Blow your hose
Thigh
a Beast
a Seal
Dog = berries
Partridge = berries
Beating
a Sparrow
The Neck
The Throat
Railing
Catching Fish
Breaking to Bird
Bird Excrement

PLATE 5

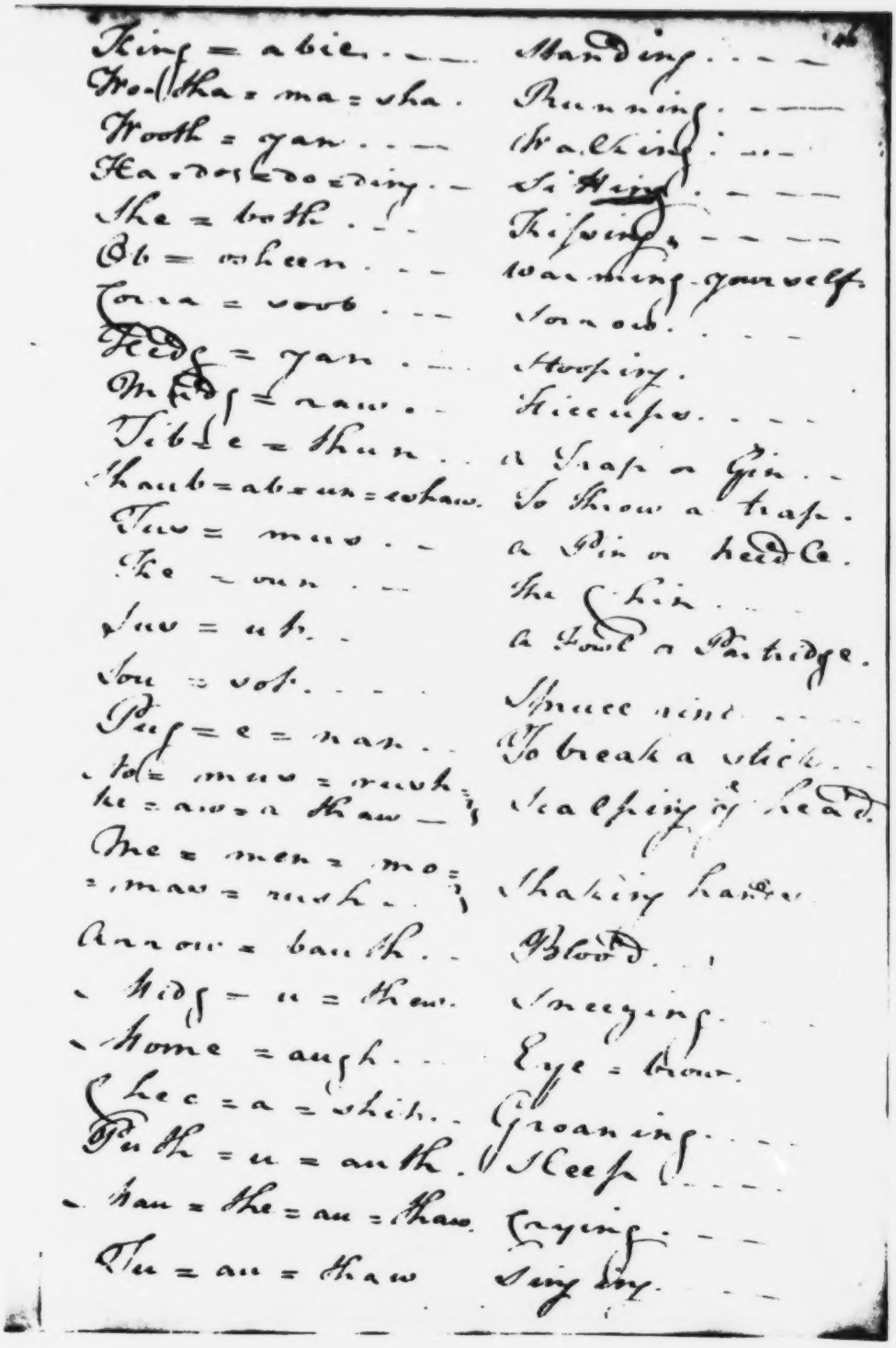

Standing
Running
Walking
Sitting
Kissing
Warming yourself
Sneezing
Stooping
Hiccups
A Trap or Gin
To throw a trap
A Pin or Needle
The Chin
A Fowl or Partridge
Spruce Nine
To break a stick
Scalping of Head
Shaking hands
Blood
Sneezing
Eye = brow
Groaning
Neck
Crying
Sing by

PLATE 6

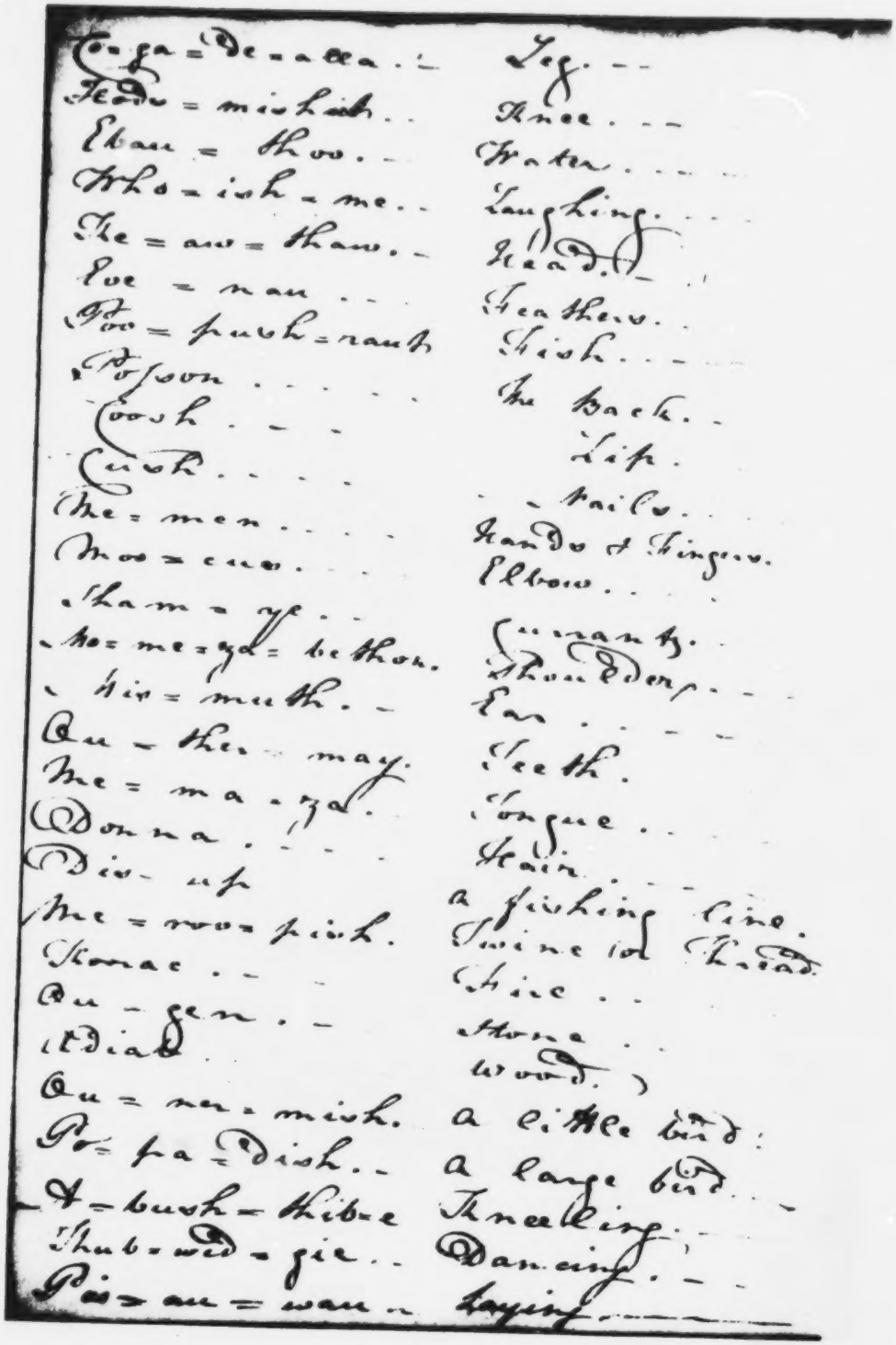
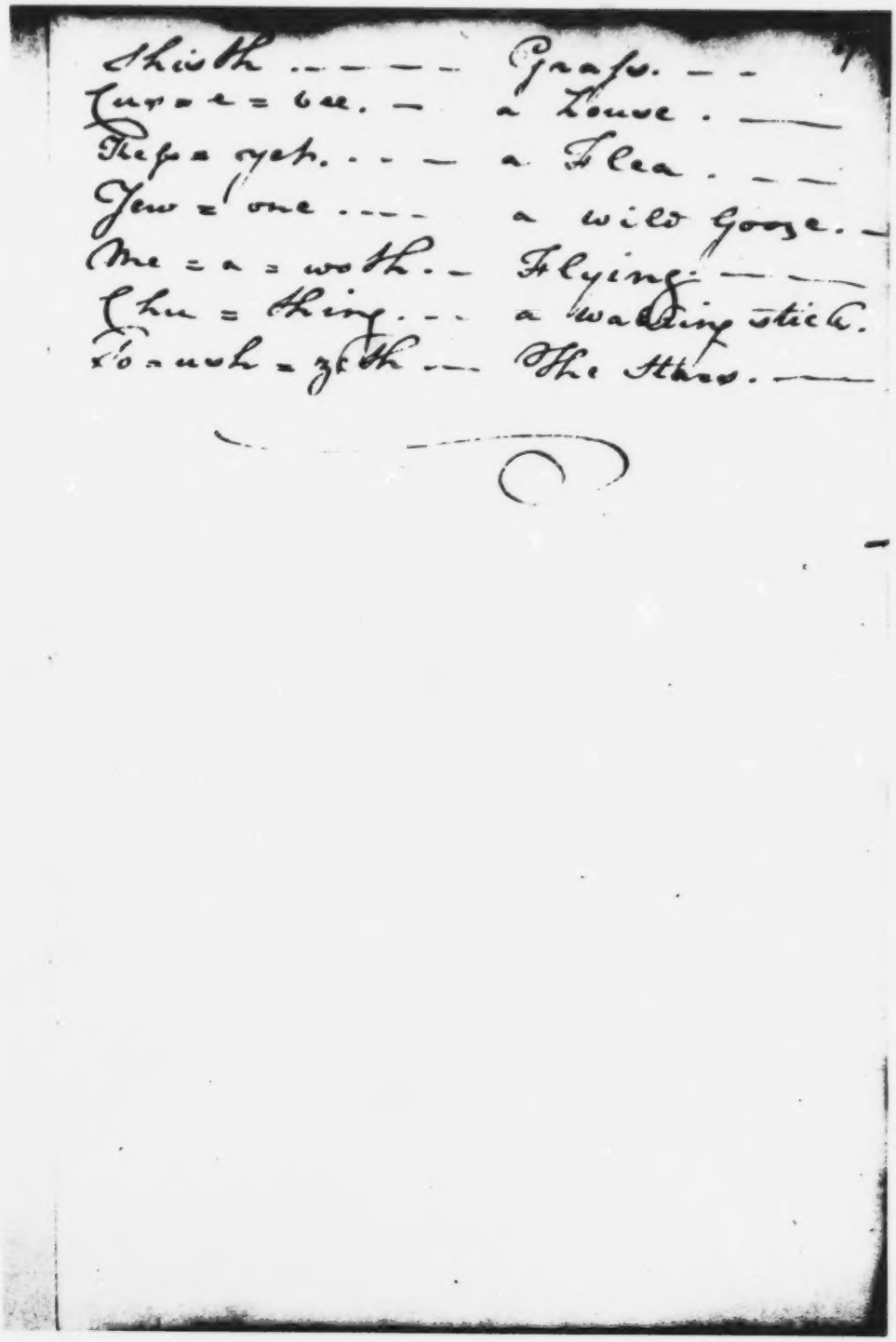

Co-ga = De-a-ca.
Keado = mis-kish
Ebau = thou
Ko-ish-me
Ke = au = thau
Ove = nau
Pow = push = nauh
Poison
Coosh
Cush
Che = men
Mou = cuo
Sha = ye
Mo = me = ya = be thou
Mis = mouth
Au = the = may
Me = ma = ya
Donna
Dis = up
Me = mou = push
Stomac
Au = gen
Diab
Au = nen = mish
Po = ja = Dish
A = bush = thibe
Shub = wid = gie
Pis = au = wau
Leg
Knee
Water
Laughing
Head
Feathers
Fish
The back
Life
Tail
Hands & fingers
Elbow
Cranky
Shoulders
Ear
Teeth
Tongue
Hair
a fishing line
Swine or Hogs
Chief
Stone
Wood
a little bird
a large bird
Kneeling
Dancing
Laying

PLATE 7


Shiwth ..... Grass.
Tur = e = bee. a house.
Thep = yeth. a flea.
Jew = one a wild goose.
Me = a = wath. flying.
Chu = thing. a walking stick.
Ko = nuh = zeth the stars.

The Clinch Vocabulary

PLATE 8

The Rawnsley Clinch
Of Somerset's
Vocabulary
Of the Language of the Natives Indians residing in the Island
of Newfoundland

Indian	English	Indian	English
Nitty_a_thaw	Energy	Co_boo_thee	Water
Sore_bauth	Blood	Who_ish_oo	Lungs
Hoom_augh	Eyebrow	Haw_thaw	Head
Pig_a_thee	a Seal	Ee_oom	Feather
Pish_thee	Smoke	Pee_poo_wad	Teeth
Mush_a_bauth	Calum or Bow	Pfoo	Back
Yaw_ow	a Knife	Coosh	Lip
Pa_pa_de_adam	a Stick	Cush	Chin
Nady_a_a	Arrows	Me_moo	Hand & Fingers
Haw_ee_ow	Spruce	Hee_ees	Thigh
Ee_be_ash	Yawning	Thaw_pe	Garments
Thee_a_shid	Growing	Me_ee_pa_bethaw	Shoulder
Yaw_ahy	Dirt	Hee_mouth	Ear
Mithin	a Seal	Ee_thee_many	Teeth
Peorth	Thumb	Me_nee_pa	Tongue
Puth_a_auth	Neck	Pee_ee	Hair
Pa_pa_me	Bow & Arrow	Ee_bee	Forehead
Pee_oom	Knife	Pee_e	Sun & Moon
Hoom_Me_ee_thaw	Copper	Pee_a_i	Evening Star
Ee_ee_Yaw	Indigo	Hee_ee_jesh	Day & Night
Pathin	Bow & Arrow pointed	Ee_y_oo	a Year
Ee_thish	a Bread	Pee_the_many	a Day
Pee_the	Birch rind & paper	Pee_ee	Sea
Pish_thish	Sled	Ee_pa	Star
Hoothish Ee	Baby	Thee_oo	Wind
Pa_pa_te_athin	Dog	Ee_ee_moosh	a little bird
Pish_ee_thish	Bear	Pee_ee_thish	a Canoe

PLATE 9

Vocabulary of the Languages of the Native Indians of Newfoundland.

Indian	English	Indian	English
A-bus-tub-o	Kneeling	Sa-me-thum	Wind
Tuck-wed-jic	Dancing	Nou-aut	a Hatchet
Pa-au-wan	Lying	Pa-to-tha-nish	Thunder
Hang-abin	Standing	Coorne	Lightning
Ha-tha-ma-sha	Running	Pidth-au	Rain
Wath-gam	Walking	Pug-a-thuse	Beating
Ka-doo-da-ding	Sitting	Push-a-mun	a Man
Ha-mun-mun-adth	Shaking Hands	Ham-a-mail	a Woman
A-a-hum	Wiping yourself	Ta-da-shud	The Neck
Ma-bith	Spitting	Ta-da-shud	Throat
Carra-nab	Sneeze	Pug-a-the	Throwing
Hady-yam	Sleeping	Ost-au-ut	Rolling
Mady-nam	Hiccups	Esh-bauth	Catching Fish
Ta-a-thum	a Trap or Gin	Hady-us-um	Cutting
Tuck-ab-ma-a	Thum to throw y Trap	Carra-nab	a Nose
Tus-mang	Pin	Tuz-thus	Teeth
Tha-adth	The Chair	P-dubble	Breathing with
Harren	a Gun	Sa-ga-muth	Birds excrement
Sus-ut	a Snare or Carriage	Ca-a-bu	a House
Pady-ba-ac	an Oar	Hepi-yat	a Tent
Hanyja-gam	Rowing	Mau-a-ga-ac	Inn
Tuck-a-thum	a Boat or Canoe	Sa-mit-ga	Swimming
Sous-Sot	Spruce Root	Thisith	Grass
Tod-thee	a Shoal	A-ash-gath	Moss
Pug-a-nam	a Smack or Brig	Pug-a-gam	Calling
Ta-thu-je-mus-thum	a Sheet an anchor	Gaw-wa	a Wild Goose
Hum-nam	a Spear	Ni-a-mith	Flying
Chum-au	a Seal	Thee-thing	a Walking Stick
Ma-na-ac	Dog berries	Sa-mush-mish	Crying
Tuss-da-ma	Partridge berries	Ha-au-thum	Weeping &c

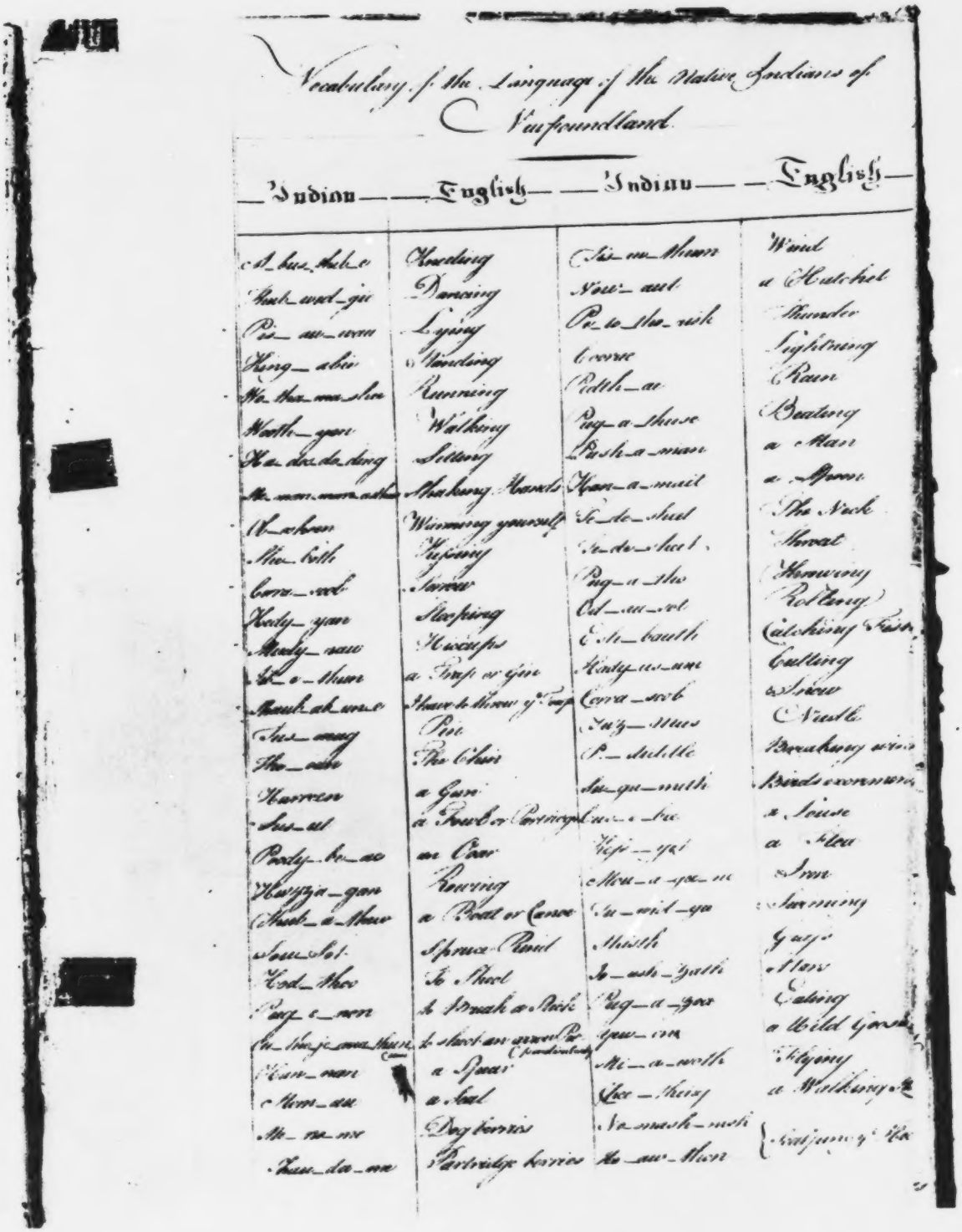
The Clinch Vocabulary

PLATE 8

The Reverend John Clinch's
Of Twillingate
Vocabulary
Of the Language of the Natives or Indians residing on the Island
of Newfoundland

Indian	English	Indian	English
Hidy-a-thun	Sweeping	Ba-hon-thee	Water
Sore-bauth	Blood	Wee-ish-on	Laughing
Mone-augh	Eyebrow	Yeau-thaw	Head
Peg-a-thee	a Seal	Ee-——ooo	Feather
Pe-thee	a Knife	Pe-pee-ooot	Teeth
Mush-a-bauth	Oakum or Tow	Pejon	the Back
Yaw-aw	a Knife	Coosh	Leg
Pa-pa-da-aden	a Fork	Coosh	Foot
Mady-a-a	Liver	Me-mun	Hand & Fingers
Tau-na-oo	Spruce	Mee-aus	Elbow
Pe-be-ath	Yawning	Sham-ge	Carcass
Thee-a-thil	Groaning	Me-au-ga-bathun	Shoulder
Yaw-athy	Dark	Mee-mith	Ear
Mithee	a Seal	Au-thee-mun	Cloth
Perth	Thumb	Me-nee-ga	Tongue
Path-a-auth	Neck	Pon-ne	Hair
Sha-ga-me	Throw the Dice	Au-be	Forearm
Shee-noon	Thigh	Pow-o	Sun & Moon
Mee-he-au-thaw	Groping	Pai-ge	Twisting Tow
Ta-au-thaw	Judging	Mu-noo-jish	Lower & Upper
Pathu	Sun & Moon	Eu-y-oon	a Year
Pe-thish	a Bread	Eu-thu-mun	a Day
Paw-thu	Birch rind or paper	Poo-na	Two
Yeat-athish	Seal	Au-ga	Five
Hadden-a-thy	Body	Thi-ee	Head
Ga-ga-ha-athis	Leg	Au-noo-mish	a little bread
Yeds-mishel	Nose	Ba-ne-bish	a large

PLATE 9



Vocabulary of the Language of the Native Indians of Newfoundland

Indian	English	Indian	English
Abus-tabe	Kneeling	Sis-ee-thum	Wind
Bush-wud-jee	Dancing	Nose-aut	a Hatchet
Pee-ee-seem	Lying	Pe-e-the-nish	Thunder
King-abin	Standing	Course	Lightning
We-the-me-the	Running	Pidth-ar	Razor
Wooth-gun	Walking	Pug-a-thowe	Beating
Ha-doo-da-dung	Sitting	Push-a-muse	a Man
Ne-mee-mee-ashe	Thinking Hearts	Mam-a-muel	a Woman
Nashum	Wishing yourself	Se-de-thuel	The Neck
Nee-bith	Flying	Ne-de-thuel	Throat
Coma-ood	Sorrow	Pug-a-the	Throwing
Kady-yaw	Laughing	Od-ee-ood	Robbing
Mady-naw	Hiccups	Ee-bouth	Catching Fish
Ee-e-thum	a Drop or Fine	Kady-ee-ame	Cutting
Thauk-ab-me-e	How to throw y Trap	Coma-ood	a Spear
Thee-mug	Pipe	Jug-thees	Needle
The-ade	The Chair	P-thebille	Breaking wind
Nawreen	a Gun	Jee-ge-muth	Birds covering
Shee-ee	a Powder or Cartridge	Cu-e-the	a House
Pardy-be-ee	an Oar	Hep-yes	a Hen
Hawyja-gun	Rowing	Mee-a-pe-ee	Time
Thook-a-thaw	a Boat or Canoe	Ee-wid-ya	Swimming
Sou-Sol	Spruce Rind	Thisth	Grass
Ood-thee	To Steal	Je-ash-yauth	Hare
Pug-e-mun	to Smash or Break	Pug-a-goos	Calving
Ee-the-je-mee-thum	to shoot an arrow Pa (Cpardon)	Goos-ees	a Wild Goose
Eau-mun	a Spear	Mi-a-muth	Flying
e Mun-ee	a Seal	Tee-a-thesy	a Walking
Me-me-ee	Dog berries	Ne-mash-mesh	Conjuring &c
Thee-da-ee	Partridge berries	Ee-ee-thum	

Chapter 3
The Demasduwit Vocabularies

The Rev. John Leigh founded the Anglican mission in Twillingate for the SPG in 1816, and, as we have seen, took Demasduwit (Mary March) into his care after her abduction in March 1819. Leigh did not have the reticence of his colleague Clinch, and his letters to the SPG are full of comments on the times.[18] Unfortunately his letters for 1819 are missing, but the Society kept a record of their content in the minutes of the meetings at which they were read. For July 12, 1819, as recorded in the SPG Archives, we read:[19]

"He has lately been at St. John's on a most interesting Occasion Mr. John Peyton last fall suffered very considerable from a descent made by the Native Red Indians of the Island in consequence of which he applied to the Governor for leave to go into the Country, to endeavour to take some of them with an intention of civilizing them, on obtaining he with his Father and eight of their own Men, they walked about 100 miles into the country in quest of them on coming within sight of them and after a chase of 2 or 300 yds. Mr. Peyton secured one of them who proved to be a female, unfortunately they were under the necessity of shooting one Gallant but unfortunate poor Creature who came to her rescue and there is reason to believe the Man was her husband believing that the Society would wish to use every endeavour within their power towards rescuing these poor Creatures from their miserable state Mr. Leigh went with Mr. Peyton and the Indian to St. John's to prevail upon the Governor not to send her to England, as she has a little Boy in the Island about 2 years old, but during the summer Months to endeavour to take some more and to use the female as Interpreter."

In a second letter, which was read on July 30, 1819, Leigh had apparently completed his vocabulary, since the precis of his letter reads:

"He begs leave to present the Society with a Vocabulary of the Native Red Indians language, it is difficult to ascertain the exact words, but he is disposed to think from the pronounciation (sic) that it is somewhat similar to the Welsh language."

Leigh was from Somerset, in the English West Country, and it is possible that the only other language he had ever heard spoken was Welsh. Whether it was the intonation patterns of Welsh (which speakers of English tend to find somewhat singsong, and distinctively different) or the individual segmental sounds in which Leigh found a resemblance, we have no way of knowing, though it was probably the former. Leigh records no grammatical constructions, and as in the earlier vocabularies, there is no attempt to delineate any morphology.

To Leigh's dismay however, the Society was stern in its answer:

"The Society cannot too strongly express their disapprobation of their missionaries taking part in any measure for the civilization and conversion of the Natives which are either violent or fraudulent in themselves or may be attended with fraud or violence in their execution."

Leigh's reply to this did not arrive until January 1820, when he insisted that he had nothing to do with the Peyton expedition, that he was "sanguine that friendly intercourse may be opened" and "much hurt by the resolution of the Society which conveyed a censure upon him for conduct which he has ever held in the greatest abhorrence..."

It appears in fact that Leigh never sent the vocabulary, since what appears to have been the original, or at least its remnants, was presented to the Newfoundland Archives in 1957 by

Mr. Fred Lunnen of Twillingate. The title page reads "A Vocabulary of the Native Red Indians' Language, Newfoundland, from Mary March, a female red Indian, who was caught by Mr. John Peyton of the Exploits on the fifth March, 1819, and presented to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts by the Rev'd. John Leigh, Episcopal Missionary, Twillingate".

This is not the only copy that Leigh prepared of his vocabulary, however. He also produced a copy which he presented to John Peyton, Jr. The MS of this "Peyton copy" is not now available, but it is the version which was copied by Gatschet and others in the nineteenth century. The title page according to Hatton and Harvey's *Newfoundland* (1883:218) stated that the MS was presented to Mr. John Peyton by the Rev. John Leigh, and the initials J.P. in the printed version suggest that Peyton himself made entries or corrections at five points in the text. We shall refer to this MS as the Peyton copy of Leigh, and to the MS in the Newfoundland Archives as the SPG copy of Leigh.[20]

The SPG copy has been torn apart and all entries (English gloss) under the letters C, D, H, M, N and W are missing. But there are also items in the SPG copy which are not found in the Peyton copy as recorded by Hatton and Harvey, Gatschet and others. Most of these (e.g., possont back peatha fur, madyua leaves, wyeeth laughing, mushabauth oakum, gadgemish rat, pigathee scab, trawnasoo spruce, corrasoob sorrow, hedyyan stooping) are to be found in the Oubee vocabularies, frequently in identical form, which suggests that Leigh had access to the work of Clinch and added these words as a result.

We know, in fact, that Leigh transferred to Harbour Grace from Twillingate in the late summer of 1819. We also know that Buchan (who was to return Mary March's body in the following winter) was given orders by Governor Hamilton on 8 August, 1819, to proceed in HMS Grasshopper to Twillingate with a letter for Leigh and to "call at Trinity on your return to St. John's, to transact such Court business as may be brought before you ..." (Howley 1915:116). We also know from the SPG Archives that Leigh reported to the Society (3 September 1819) that "his health was so infirm that he had been induced to accept the offer of Capt Buchan to transport him and his goods to his present Mission conceiving that if he omitted this opportunity it was probable that no other would present itself before the winter since his arrival he had been extremely ill and was scarcely able to write".

That the vessel also stopped in Trinity was recorded in local diaries at the harbour. *The Trinity Enterprise* for 27 September 1913, under the heading "Past and Present" reported that[21] "Three months before the Rev. Dr. Clinch died, Trinity received a visit from HMS Grasshopper, Capt. Burnham (sic), while going from Twillingate to Harbour Grace. She had as passenger the Rev. Mr. Leigh from Twillingate. On the 24th Mr. Leigh baptised two children at Trinity, and did other parochial work during his four day visit". Clinch died on 22 November 1819; the date referred to is therefore 24 August 1819.

Leigh also recorded his visit. The SPG Archives report reads that "on his passage from Twillingate he stopped ten days at Trinity Bay, Mr. Clinch is confined to his room with little probability of quitting it again alive; at his request Mr. Leigh administered to him the sacrament when 13 of his parishioners desired to communicate with him; a circumstance which made a deep impression on his mind. He visited also another sick person where 3 others attended the sacred ordinance —— many Children were baptized". We know, therefore, from direct evidence, that Leigh brought to the bedside of the dying Clinch the comfort of the sacraments of the church. And we also know from indirect evidence that

they talked about Oubee, about Mary March, about the "native Red Indians", their language, and their possible conversion.

It is not by chance, therefore that the SPG copy of the Leigh vocabulary contains words from the Clinch vocabulary, while the Peyton Copy does not. The Peyton copy was completed while Leigh was still in Twillingate, and presented to Peyton that summer before Leigh left to go to Harbour Grace. The SPG copy Leigh obviously took with him, and added the further items as a result of his contact with Clinch, and a look at the so-called Clinch vocabulary. The amended SPG vocabulary was also still in his possession in 1820 when he was visited at Harbour Grace by Sir Hercules Robinson,[22] since it is this vocabulary that Robinson copied, along with its added items from Clinch, as a result of his visit to Harbour Grace in 1820: Robinson's accompanying commentary is dated 7 November 1820, and was written "from recollection of conversations with Mr. Leigh at Harbour Grace several weeks ago".

Gatschet, whose three papers on the Beothuk Vocabularies were composed at the end of the nineteenth century, was unaware of the existence of the SPG copy. By this time, however, Robinson's copy of the SPG manusript was in the British Museum Library, and Gatschet had access to it. He summarizes it exactly as an "incorrect copy of Leigh's own vocabulary obtained from Mary March", but later adds "Capt. Robinson has consulted and partly copied the Clinch vocabulary, as will be readily seen by a comparison in the terms in both". Gatschet's erroneous conclusion that Robinson had access to the Clinch vocabulary stems entirely from the fact that he knew only the Peyton copy, not the SPG copy of Leigh (with its added words from Clinch).

The Peyton copy apparently passed into the hands of a Mr. Whiteway[23] of St. John's who allowed T.G.B. Lloyd to publish it in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for 1875. The Peyton copy as published by Lloyd was also published by Hatton and Harvey (1883:218-221), and it was this version that was checked by Howley with the original MS of the Peyton copy, and the results of Howley's work were utilized by Gatschet and published by him in his first paper (1885) to the American Philosophical Society. The whereabouts of the original MS of the Peyton copy is today unknown, however.

In spite of the fact that the Peyton copy itself is not now extant, however, we nevertheless have reasonably accurate printed versions of it because of the careful scrutiny of James P. Howley. We also have other, less accurate, manuscript copies of the Peyton copy. Two of these are in the Library of the National Museums of Canada. One of these has an introduction signed Henry H. Stabb, M.D., stating that the vocabulary was "obtained by John Peyton, Esq., J.P., from Mary March, last of the Beothics". This incredible misinformation[24] is further compounded when Stabb informs the unwary reader that Mary March's Indian name was Shanaandithith (sic). These manuscripts are valuable, however, in that they show where the version published by Gatschet is, in spite of Howley's care, still in error. For example, Gatschet follows the Lloyd reading dogernat arrow, which is in conflict with the SPG copy which reads dogemat arrow. In this instance both National Museums MSS read dogemat arrow, and since they were both copied from the Peyton version, we must conclude that Lloyd's interpretation of the Peyton copy is erroneous, and that Gatschet's citation is therefore wrong. In the lists that follow, therefore, evidence from the two National Museum copies of the Peyton version has been included if, and only if, there is reason to suspect that the version published by Gatschet is erroneous.

In the following lists the order of the original, which is also the order of all the copies, has

been maintained for ease of checking. The SPG copy (SPG), since it was Leigh's own, is given first, followed by the Robinson version (R), which is a copy of SPG. Then we give the version published by Gatschet (G) from the Peyton copy, followed, where relevant, by the two National Museum copies, NM 1 (the Stabb version) and NM 2 (of unknown provenance). Where these latter both give the same form, a single citation is given with the abbreviation NMC (i.e., National Museum copies).

Listing of the Vocabularies

1	Arms	SPG.	memayet;
		R.	memayet;
		G.	memayet
2	Arrow	SPG.	dogemat;
		R.	dogemat;
		G.	dogernat;
		NMC.	dogemat
3	Boy	SPG.	bukashamesh;
		R.	bakashamesh;
		G.	bukashamesh
4	Breast	SPG.	bogomot;
		R.	begomot;
		G.	bogomot or bogomat
5	Bonnet	SPG.	abodonec;
		R.	abodonce;
		G.	abodoneck
6	Beaver	SPG.	mamshet;
		R.	mamshet;
		G.	mamshet
7	Boat or vessel	SPG.	adothe;
		R.	adothe;
		G.	adothe
8	Buttons or money	SPG.	agamet;
		R.	agamet;
		G.	agamet
9	Berries	SPG.	bibidigemidic;
		R.	bebidigemidie;
		G.	bibibigemidic
10	Blankets	SPG.	manavorit;
		R.	manovorit;
		G.	manavoonit;
		NMC.	manavovit

11	Bear	SPG.	gwashuwet;
		R.	gwashavet;
		G.	gwashuwet
12	Blood	SPG.	izzobauth;
		R.	izzobauth;
		G.	iggobauth;
		NMC.	iggobauth
13	Beat	SPG.	bukashowite;
		R.	buhushowite;
		G.	buhashauwite;
		NMC.	bukashawik
14	Bite	SPG.	bashoodite;
		R.	bashudite;
		G.	bashoodite (Lloyd boshoodik);
		NMC.	bashoodik
15	Blow the nose	SPG.	shegamit;
		R.	shegamit;
		G.	shegamite
16	Birch rind	SPG.	boyish;
		R.	boyish;
		G.	boyish
17	Body	SPG.	haddabothic;
		R.	haddabothie;
		G.	haddabothic
18	Back	SPG.	possont;
		R.	possont;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
19	Baked apples[25]	R.	abidemashick;
		(not in SPG. or Peyton copy)	
20	Clothes	R.	ihingyam;[26]
		G.	thengyam;
		NMC.	thingyam
21	Codfish	R.	bobboosoret;
		G.	bobboosoret
22	Cattle, cows and Horses	R.	nethabeat;
		G.	nethabete
23	Cat (domestic)	R.	abidesook;
		G.	abideshook

24	Cat (marten)	R. abidish; G. abidish
25	Canoe	R. iapathook; G. tapathook
26	Cream jug	R. motheryet; G. motheryet
27	Come hither	R. kooret; G. thooret; NMC. thooret
28	Candle	R. shaboth; G. shaboth
29	Caplin	R. shamorh; G. shamoth
30	Cry	R. matheothice; G. matheoduc
31	Comb	R. edrathin; G. moidensu
32	Cold	R. moidewsee; (not in Peyton copy)
33	Chin	R. toun; G. gown; NMC. goun
34	Cut	R. odisuit; G. odishuik
35	Comet	R. anin; G. anin
36	Clouds	(not in R.); G. berrooick or berroich; NMC. berroick
37	Currents[27]	R. shamye; (not in Peyton copy)
38	Deer	R. oswet;[28] G. osweet
39	Deer's horns	R. megorun; G. magorun

40	Dog	R.	mammasmeet;
		G.	mammasaveet[29]
41	Drawing knife	R.	momeshawdet;[30]
		G.	moeshwadet
42	Dogwood, mountain ash	R.	emoethook;
		G.	emoethook
43	Duck	R.	boodowit;
		G.	boodowit
44	Ducks and drakes	R.	howmeshet;
		G.	mameshet
45	Dancing	R.	budiseet;
		G.	badisut
46	Dirt	R.	methie;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
47	Eye	R.	givinya;
		G.	gwinya
48	Egg	R.	debine;
		G.	debine
49	Eat	R.	odvit;
		G.	odoit
50	Eyebrow	R.	marmeuck;
		G.	marmeuk
51	Elbow	R.	moocus;
		G.	moocus
52	Ear	R.	mooshaman;
		G.	mooshaman
53	Fire	R.	woodrat;
		G.	woodrat
54	Fish hook	R.	adothook;
		G.	adothook
55	Feathers	R.	abobidress;
		G.	abobidress
56	Fall	R.	hosket;[31]
		G.	koshet

57	Fork	R.	ethewroit;
		G.	ethenwit;[32]
		NMC.	etheuwit
58	Fishing line	R.	edot;[33]
		G.	edat or edot;
		NMC.	edat
59	Flying	R.	miaoth;
		G.	miaoth
60	Fur	R.	peatha;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
61	Girl	SPG.	emamooset;
		R.	emamooset;
		G.	emamooset
62	Gloves	SPG.	obsedeek;
		R.	obsedeek;
		G.	obsedeek
63	Gun	SPG.	adamadret;
		R.	adamadret;
		G.	adamadret
64	Glass	SPG.	hadibiet;
		R.	hadibiet;
		G.	hadibiet
65	Go out	SPG.	enano;
		R.	enano;
		G.	euano;
		NM1.	enano
66	Gull	SPG.	asson;
		R.	assou;
		G.	asson
67	Gimlet	SPG.	quadranuck;
		R.	quadranuck;
		G.	quadranuek
68	Grinding stone	SPG.	aquathoont;
		R.	aquathoont;
		G.	aguathoonet;
		NM2.	aquathoont
69	Gun powder	SPG.	beasothunt;
		R.	beatothunt;
		G.	baasothnut;
		NM2.	beasothunt

70	Goose	SPG.	odeusook;
		R.	odeiwook;[34]
		G.	odensook;
		NM2.	odensook
71	Good night	SPG.	bethoete;
		R.	bethiote;
		G.	betheoate
72	Get up	SPG.	ganyess;
		R.	ganyep;
		G.	gamyess[35]
73	Gaping	SPG.	abemite;
		R.	abemite;
		G.	abemite
74	Groaning	SPG.	cheashit;
		R.	cheashit;
		G.	cheashit
75	Gooseberry	SPG.	jiggamint;
		R.	jiggamint;
		G.	jiggamint
76	Hand	R.	memet;[36]
		G.	mewet
77	Hair	R.	dronna;
		G.	drona
78	House	R.	mammateek;
		G.	mammateek
79	Hammer	R.	mattesis;
		G.	mattuis
80	Heart	R.	begodor;
		G.	bogodoret
81	Hare	R.	odusweet;
		G.	odusweet
82	Husband	R.	zathrook;
		G.	zathrook
83	Hoop	R.	uoin;
		G.	woin
84	Head	R.	keauthut, gonothin;
		G.	goathin, keathut

85	Hiccups	R.	mudyrat;
		G.	madyrut
86	Hatchet	R.	thingaya;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
87	Herring	(not in R.);	
		G.	washemesh
88	Ice	SPG.	ozeru;
		R.	ozeru;
		G.	ozeru
89	Indian (Red)	SPG.	beathook;
		R.	beathook;
		G.	beathook
90	Indian cup	SPG.	shucodidimit;
		R.	shucodidimit;
		G.	shucodidimit
91	Iron	SPG.	mowageenite;
		R.	mowazeenite;
		G.	mowageenite
92	Islands	SPG.	mammasheek;
		R.	mamanasheek
		G.	mammasheek
93	Knife	SPG.	uine;
		R.	uine;
		G.	nine
94	Knee	SPG.	hodamishit;
		R.	hodamishit;
		G.	hodamishit
95	Kneeling	SPG.	abusthibit;
		R.	abusthibit;
		G.	acusthibit;[37]
		NMC.	abusthibit
96	Kiss	SPG.	widumite;
		R.	widumite;
		G.	widumite
97	Lobster	SPG.	odjet;
		R.	odjet;
		G.	odjet
98	Lamp	SPG.	bobdiduishemet;

98	Lamp	SPG.	bobdiduishemet;
		R.	bobdiduishemet;
		G.	bobbiduishemet
99	Lord bird[38]	SPG.	mammadrouit;
		R.	mammadrovit;
		G.	mammadronit;
		NMC.	mammadrouit
100	Leg	SPG.	aduse;
		R.	aduse;
		G.	aduse
101	Lead	SPG.	goosheben;
		R.	goosheben;
		G.	goosheben
102	Lip	SPG.	ooish;
		R.	ooish;
		G.	ooish
103	Lie down	SPG.	bituwait;
		R.	bituwaite;
		G.	bituwait
104	Louse	SPG.	kusebeet;
		R.	kusebeet;
		G.	kusebeet
105	Lightning	SPG.	barodiisick;
		R.	barod;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
106	Leaves	SPG.	madyna;
		R.	madyna;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
107	Laughing	SPG.	wyeeth;
		R.	wieeth[39]
108	Man	R.	bickashaman;[40]
		G.	bukashaman
109	Mouth	R.	mamesook;
		G.	mameshook
110	Moon	R.	kuis, washewiush;
		G.	kuis, washewnish;
		NMC.	kuis, washewuish

111	Mosquito	R.	shema bogosthue;
		G.	shema bogosthuc;
		NMC.	shema bogosthue
112	Nose	R.	geen;
		G.	geen
113	Net	R.	giggarimanet;
		G.	giggaremanet[41]
114	Necklace (beads)	R.	bethee;
		G.	bethec
115	Night and dark	R.	washew;
		G.	washeu;
		NMC.	washew
116	Nipper	R.	bebadrook;
		G.	bebadrook
117	Nails	R.	quish;
		G.	quish
118	Neck and throat	R.	iedesheet;
		G.	tedesheet
119	Needle	R.	dosomite;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
120	Oil	SPG.	emet;
		R.	emet;
		G.	emet
121	Otter	SPG.	edru;
		R.	edru;
		G.	edru or edree;
		NMC.	edru
122	Ochre	SPG.	odement;
		R.	odement;
		G.	odemet;
		NMC.	odemet
123	Oar	SPG.	poodybeae;
		R.	poodybeae;
		G.	podibeac[42]
124	Oakum	SPG.	mushabauth;
		R.	mushabauth;
		(not in Peyton copy)	

125	Pin	SPG.	dosomite;
		R.	dosomite;
		G.	dosomite[43]
126	Partridge	SPG.	zosweet;
		R.	zosweet;
		G.	zosweet
127	Puppies	SPG.	mammasaveet;
		R.	mammasameet;
		G.	mammasaveet[44]
128	Pitcher, cup	SPG.	manune;
		R.	manune;
		G.	manune
129	Pigeon	SPG.	bobbodish;
		R.	bobbodish;
		G.	bobbidish
130	Puffin	SPG.	gwoshuawit;
		R.	gwoshuawit;
		G.	gwashawit
131	Rocks	SPG.	ahune;
		R.	ahune;
		G.	ahune
132	Rain	SPG.	bathuc;
		R.	bathue;
		G.	bathuc;
		NMC.	bathue
133	Running	SPG.	woothamashet;
		R.	hothamashet;
		G.	wothamashet;
		NMC.	roothamashet
134	Rowing	SPG.	osavate;
		R.	osavate;
		G.	osavate
135	Rat	SPG.	gadgemish;
		R.	gadgemish;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
136	Raspberries	R.	gauzadun;
		(not in either SPG or Peyton copy)[45]	
137	Shoes	SPG.	moosin;
		R.	moosin;
		G.	moosin

138	Smoke	SPG.	besdic;
		R.	besdic;
		G.	basdic;
		NMC.	bosdic
139	Seal	SPG.	bidesook;
		R.	bedesook;
		G.	bidesook
140	Stinking seal	SPG.	mattic bidesook;
		R.	mattic bedesook;
		G.	mattic bidesuk
141	Spoon	SPG.	adadiminte;
		R.	adadminte;
		G.	adadimiute;
		NMC.	adadiminte
142	Sun	SPG.	kuis, maugeroonis;
		R.	kius, maugerewius;
		G.	kuis, mangaroonis or mangaroouis[46]
143	Sit down	SPG.	athep;
		R.	athep;
		G.	athess[47]
144	Sleep	SPG.	isedoweet;
		R.	isedoweet;
		G.	isedoweet
145	Saw	SPG.	deddoweet;
		R.	deddoweet;
		G.	deddoweet
146	Sails	SPG.	ejabathook;
		R.	ejabathook;
		G.	ejabathook
147	Shovel	SPG.	godawick;
		R.	godawick;
		G.	godawik
148	Stockings	SPG.	gasset;
		R.	gasset;
		G.	gosset, gasack
149	Sword	SPG.	bidisoni;
		R.	bedisoni;
		G.	bidisoni

150	Salmon	SPG.	wasemook;
		R.	wasemook;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
151	Silk handkerchief	SPG.	egibiduish;
		R.	ejibiduish;
		G.	egibidinish;
		NMC.	egibiduish
152	Scissors	SPG.	osegeeu;
		R.	oseegeen;
		G.	ozegeen;
		NMC.	osegeen
153	Sore throat	SPG.	anadrick;
		R.	anadrick;
		G.	anadrick
154	Snipe	SPG.	aouget;
		R.	aoujet;
		G.	aoujet
155	Swimming	SPG.	thoowidgee;
		R.	thoowidgee;
		G.	thoowidgee
156	Seal sunk	SPG.	aparet a bidesook;
		R.	aparetia bidesook;
		G.	apparet o bidesook
157	Scratch	SPG.	bashubet;
		R.	bashubet;
		G.	bashubet
158	Scallop	SPG.	gowet;
		R.	gowet;
		G.	gowet
159	Sneezing	SPG.	adjith;
		R.	adjith;
		G.	adjith
160	Singing	SPG.	awoodet;
		R.	awoodet;
		G.	awoodet
161	Shoulders	SPG.	momegemethon;
		R.	momezemethon;
		G.	manegemethon
162	Sorrow	SPG.	corrasoob;
		R.	corrasoob;
		(not in Peyton copy)	

163	Stooping	SPG. hedyyan; R. hedyyan; (not in Peyton copy)
164	Standing	SPG. kingiabit; R. kingabit; G. kingiabit
165	Shaking hands	SPG. meman monasthus; R. memanmonasthus; G. meeman monasthus; NMC. meman monasthus
166	Scab	SPG. pigathee; R. pigathee; (not in Peyton copy)
167	Spruce	SPG. trawnasoo; R. trawnasoo; (not in Peyton copy)
168	Stars	(not in SPG. or R.); G. adenishit
169	Teeth	SPG. bofomet outhermayet; R. bofomet outhermayet; G. botomet onthermayet; NMC. botothunet outhermayet
170	Trap	SPG. shebathoont; R. shebathoont; G. shabathoobet; NMC. shabathooht
171	Trousers	SPG. mowead; R. moweed; G. mowead
172	Trout	SPG. dottomeish; R. dottomeish; G. dottomeish
173	Ticklass[48]	SPG. gotheyet; R. gotheyet; G. gotheyet
174	Turr[49]	SPG. goenet; R. geonet; G. geonet

175	Tinker[50]	SPG.	oothook;
		R.	oothook;
		G.	osthuk;
		NMC.	oothook
176	Tickle[51]	SPG.	kaduishnite;
		R.	kaduishnite;
		G.	kadmishuite;
		NMC.	kaduishnite
177	Thank you	SPG.	thine;
		R.	thine;
		G.	thine
178	Thigh	SPG.	ifweena;
		R.	ifweena;
		(not in Peyton copy: itweena is given for Thumb)[52]	
179	Tongue	SPG.	memasuck;
		R.	memasuck;
		G.	memasuk
180	Thread	SPG.	meroobish;
		R.	meroobish;
		G.	meroobish
181	Throw	SPG.	pugathoite;
		R.	pugathoite;
		G.	pugathoite
182	Thunder	SPG.	barodiisick;
		R.	barodiisick;
		G.	baroodisick
183	Thumb	SPG.	pooeth;
		R.	pooeth;
		G.	itweena (but see 178 and note 52)
184	Woman[53]	R.	emamoose;
		G.	emamoose
185	Water	R.	ebautho;
		G.	ebanthoo;
		NMC.	ebauthoo
186	Watch	R.	kius;
		G.	kuis
187	Woodpecker	R.	shebohoweet;
		G.	shebohowit

188	Wife	R.	osuck;
		G.	oosuck
189	Walk	R.	woothyot;
		G.	woothyat
190	Warming yourself	R.	obosheen;
		G.	obosheen
191	Wind	R.	gidgeathuc;
		G.	gidgeathuc
192	Wolf	R.	moisamadrook;
		G.	moisamadrook
193	Wood	R.	adiab;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
194	Whortle berries	R.	mamoose;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
195	Yawning	SPG.	jibeath, ibemite;
		R.	iibeath, ibemite;
		(not in Peyton copy)	
196	One	SPG.	gathet;
		R.	gathet;
		G.	gathet
197	Two	SPG.	adasic;
		R.	adasic;
		G.	adasic
198	Three	SPG.	sheasic;
		R.	shedsic;
		G.	thedsic
199	Four	SPG.	abodoesic;
		R.	abodoesic;
		G.	abodoesic
200	Five	SPG.	nijeek;
		R.	nijick;
		G.	nijeek
201	Six	SPG.	bigadosick;
		R.	bigadosic;
		G.	rigadosic;
		NMC.	bigadosick

202	Seven	SPG.	oodosook;
		R.	odosook;
		G.	oodosook
203	Eight	SPG.	adoosook;
		R.	odoosook;
		G.	aodoosook;
		NMC.	aodoosook
204	Nine	SPG.	yeothoduck;
		R.	yeothodue;
		G.	yeothoduc
205	Ten	SPG.	theant;
		R.	theant;
		G.	theant
206	Mainland	SPG.	gauzewook;
		R.	guizewook
		(not in Lloyd or Hatton and Harvey);	
		NMC.	gaugewook
207	Islands	SPG.	mammasheek;
		R.	mammasheek;
		(not in Lloyd or Hatton and Harvey)	
		NMC.	mammasheek

Notes on the Vocabulary

1 Items 20, 25, and 118 show instances where Robinson has misinterpreted initial t as an i.

2 Items 31 and 32 indicate that Leigh skipped, in making the Peyton copy, from the English gloss of 31 to the Beothuk gloss of 32. See also items 178, 183 and note 52.

3 Items 37, 60, 106, 124, 162, 163, 166, 167, 193 and 195 are obviously copied from Clinch, hence their absence from the Peyton copy. Other items (18, 46, 183) appear to have been copied, but are not identical to Clinch's forms.

4 In items 65, 69, 95, 99, 110, 115, 141, 151, 165, 175, 176, 185, 201, the spelling of SPG and NMC indicate that the Gatschet version is erroneous.

5 Robinson's spellings of item 72 indicates a misreading of p for ss, a common error since in eighteenth century handwriting the first s was written long, the second short, and the two characters together resemble p. The same error is made in NM2, but not NM1.

6 Items 91 and 161 show how Robinson mistakes g of SPG for z.

7 Items 110 and 142 show that Sun and Moon are the same word, as is normally found in Algonkian languages. The second gloss in each case is a second, or distinguishing term for each of the two luminaries: washewiush moon and maugeroouis sun. Item

115, washew night and dark, indicates that washewiush is a compound: night-sun. If this is so, the second element is probably -kius, which would normally be heard as -gius by a speaker of English; Leigh apparently missed the initial consonant of this second element when he recorded the word. He also missed it in the distinctive word for sun which is probably maugerooguis day-sun. Supporting evidence for this analysis is found in the King vocabulary, where we find keeose the sun, the moon in the first part of the vocabulary, and washageuis moon, mageragueis son in the second part; the last item, when all the evidence is weighed, is clearly an error for sun.

8 Garbled copying leads to all kinds of false conclusions. The fact that the Hatton and Harvey gloss for Six began with R instead of B, caused Gatschet to comment in his listings for Six that "Rigadosik six in Leigh's vocabulary seems to point to another dialect". Comparison of copies shows that it is a copyist's error. In his second paper (May 7, 1886), Gatschet quotes the discrepancy between edrathin comb and moidensu comb (items 31, 32) as evidence that "one of these is borrowed from another language". Comparison of all the Demasduwit vocabularies again shows clearly, however, that it too is merely a copyist's error.

Subsequent Copies of the Demasduwit Vocabularies

1 Sir Hercules Robinson, "Vocabulary of the Language of the Natives of Newfoundland; procured by the Rev. J. Leigh, from Mary March, a Native Woman, taken up the Bay of Exploits (sic) by Mr. Peyton, in March, 1818", *Royal Geographical Society Journal* 4:218-220 (1834). This is the published version of Robinson, which differs in only small and insignificant ways from the MS in the British Museum.

2 R.M. Martin, *History of Nova Scotia* London 1837. On pp. 299-301, there is a reprint of Robinson, presumably from the printed version, since it repeats, for example, ruis watch, which is found in the printed version but not in the MS.

3 T.G.B. Lloyd, "On the Beothucks, a tribe of Red Indians, supposed to be extinct, which formerly inhabited Newfoundland", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* IV:21-39. A Beothuk vocabulary is given on pp. 37-9. It is the Peyton copy of Leigh, borrowed from "Mr. Whiteway of St. John's" (p. 23). Lloyd records (p. 39) that Mr. Whiteway told him that the vocabulary had been in the hands of one of the Presidents of the Asiatic Society. The copying is very poor: Lloyd did not even record properly English words with which he was not familiar, so that we read "Tillass (?meaning) . . . Tuiker (?meaning)" for Titlass (Ticklace or Ticklass) and Tinker.

4 J. Hatton and M. Harvey, Newfoundland, London and Boston, 1883. The vocabulary "was supplied by Mary March, and recorded by the Rev. John Leigh. The original is in the possession of a gentleman in St. John's." This is simply a copy of Lloyd. The vocabulary is on pp. 218-221 of the British edition, and pages 184-186 of the American edition. Hatton and Harvey slavishly follow Lloyd's errors, except that they do correct his English: we read "Ticklass (a sea bird) . . . Tinker (a sea bird)".

5 Albert S. Gatschet. First paper read before the American Philosophical Society, 19 June 1885. Of all the nineteenth century reporters, Gatschet seems to have taken the most pains to get accurate copies. He uses a slightly corrected version of Lloyd-Hatton and Harvey. Consequently, for lack of a manuscript of the Peyton copy of Leigh, we have used Gatschet's printed record of this MS, taking note of the corrections that he

adds from notes supplied to him by James P. Howley, and also Howley's citations from Mrs. Jure (who had been a servant in the Peyton household during the period when Shanawdithit lived there). The other copies of Leigh show that Gatschet's listings still require considerable correction.

6 Rev. George Patterson, "Beothick Vocabulary" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Sec. II:19-26 (1892). Patterson also had access to the Peyton copy and claims to have "corrected some errors in several published copies, but, from the indistinctness of the handwriting, I am uncertain about a few words". He also notes, "Captain Robinson's is the same, with a few additional words. These I have inserted and marked (R)". Consequently Patterson's reporting of Leigh's lists is much better than his citations from Clinch. But there are still many errors, most of them not found elsewhere and therefore attributable to either Patterson or the typesetter (e.g., agomet buttons, money; possint back, etc.).

7 *The Twillingate Sun*, 29 July 1950. This listing is the first indication of the existence of the SPG copy. The article quotes the title page of the MS in full and gives a few brief biographical details of Leigh, who founded the Anglican mission at Twillingate for the SPG in 1816. There are a few errors, but the listings are generally good and usable: there are no misinterpretations of Leigh's eighteenth century handwriting style. The commentary expresses curiosity as to whether any other vocabularies of the Beothuk language are in existence.

The Leigh Vocabulary

PLATE 10

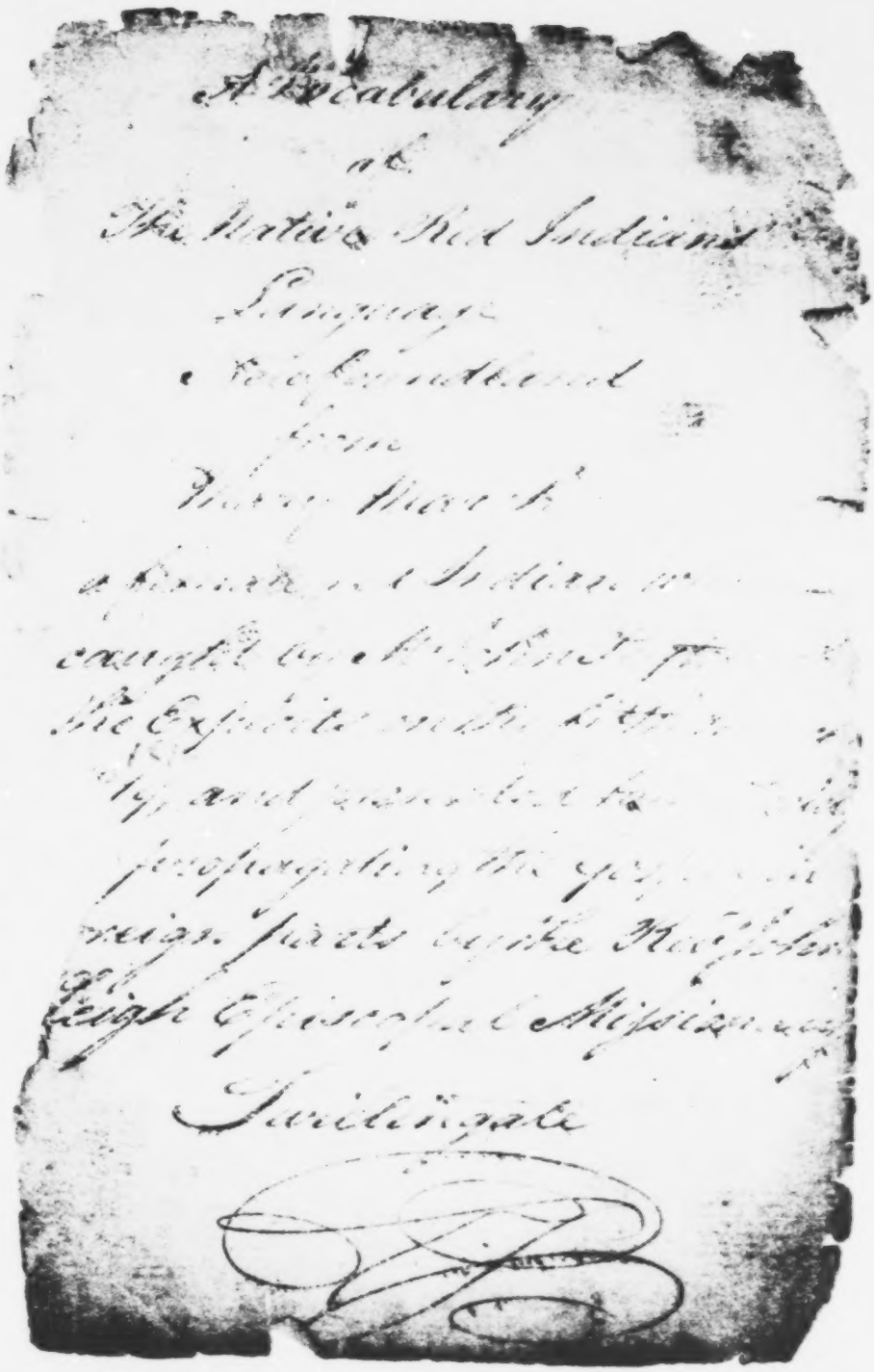


PLATE 11

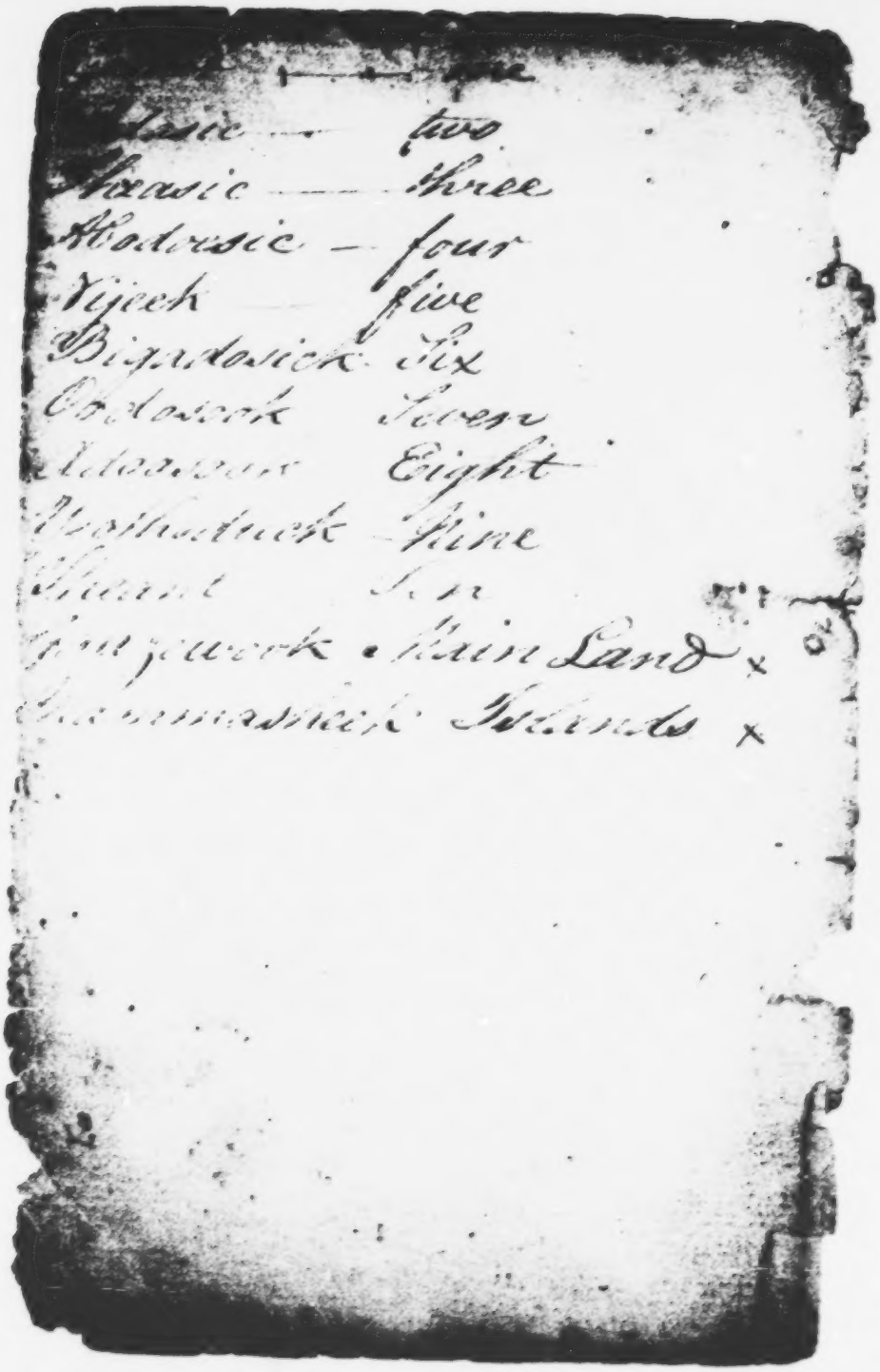


PLATE 12

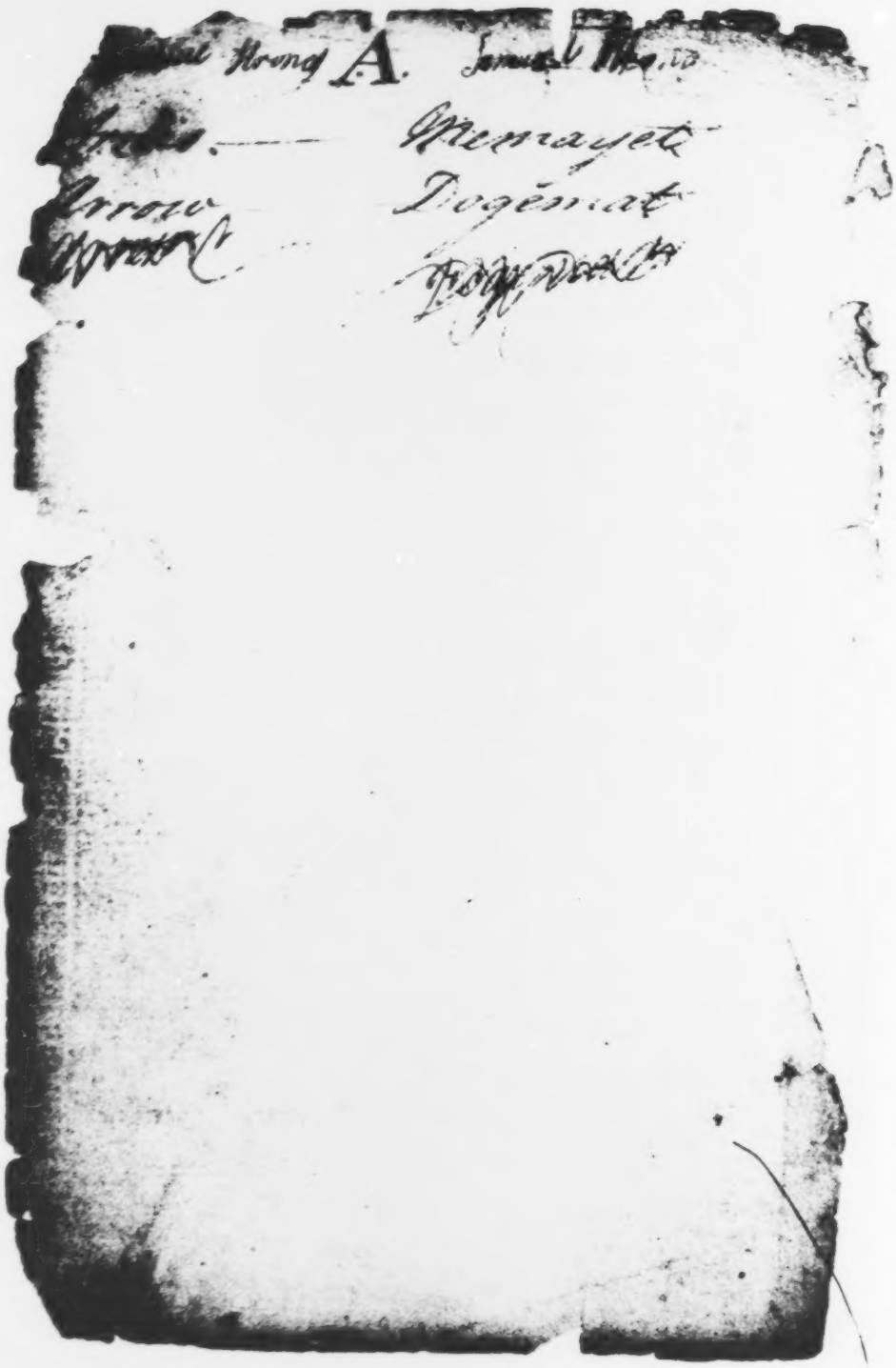


PLATE 13

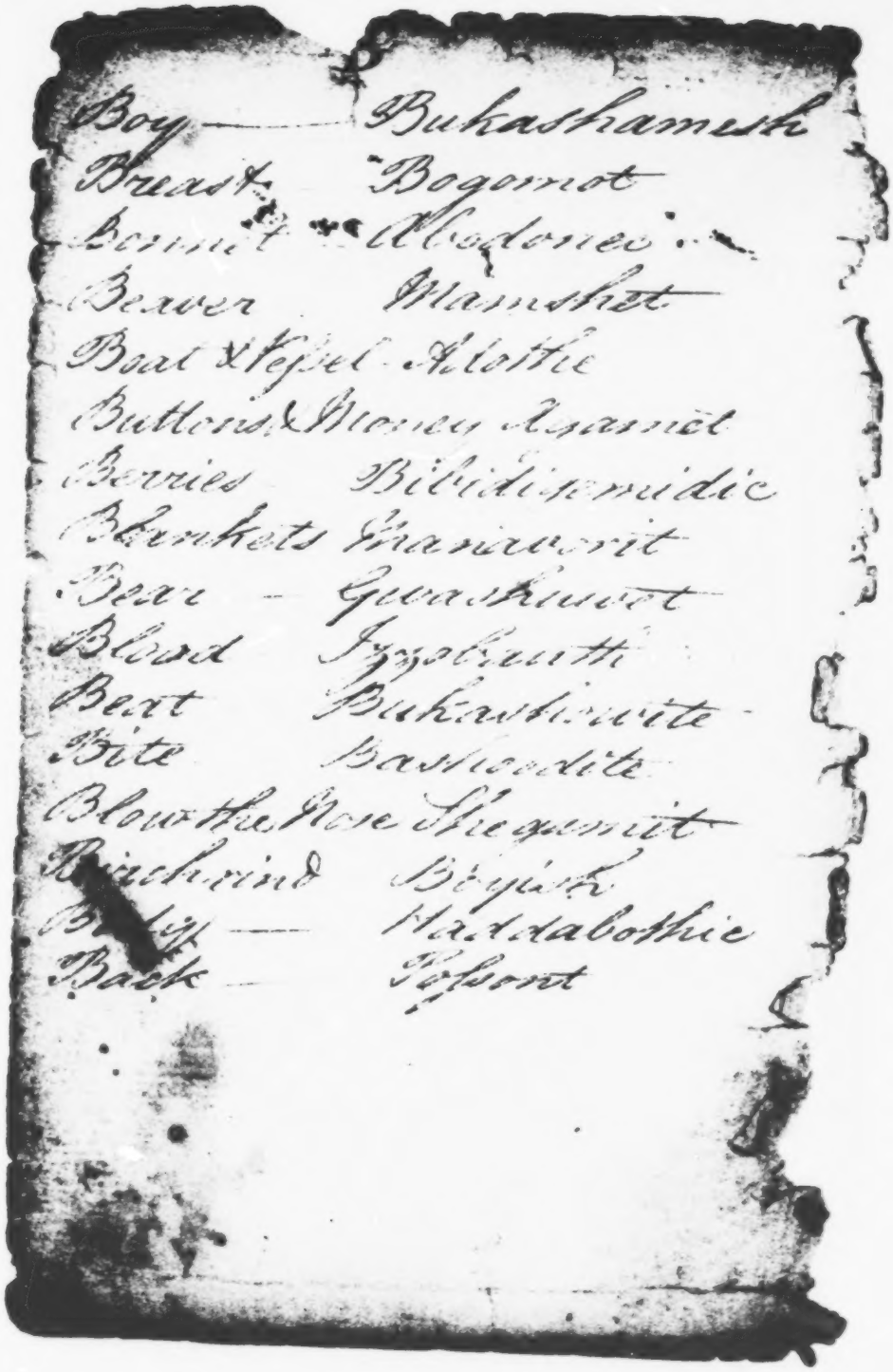

Boy — Bukashamesh
Breast — Bogamot
Bonnet — Modonee
Beaver — Mannshot
Boat & Kettle — Alattic
Buttons & Money — Agamet
Berries — Bilidisemidic
Blankets — Enamiwait
Bear — Gumshimot
Blood — Izzobeuth
Bent — Bukandimute
Bite — Bashwadite
Blow the Nose — Shegamit
Bird — Bégish
Belly — Maddabothic
Back — Tebont

PLATE 14

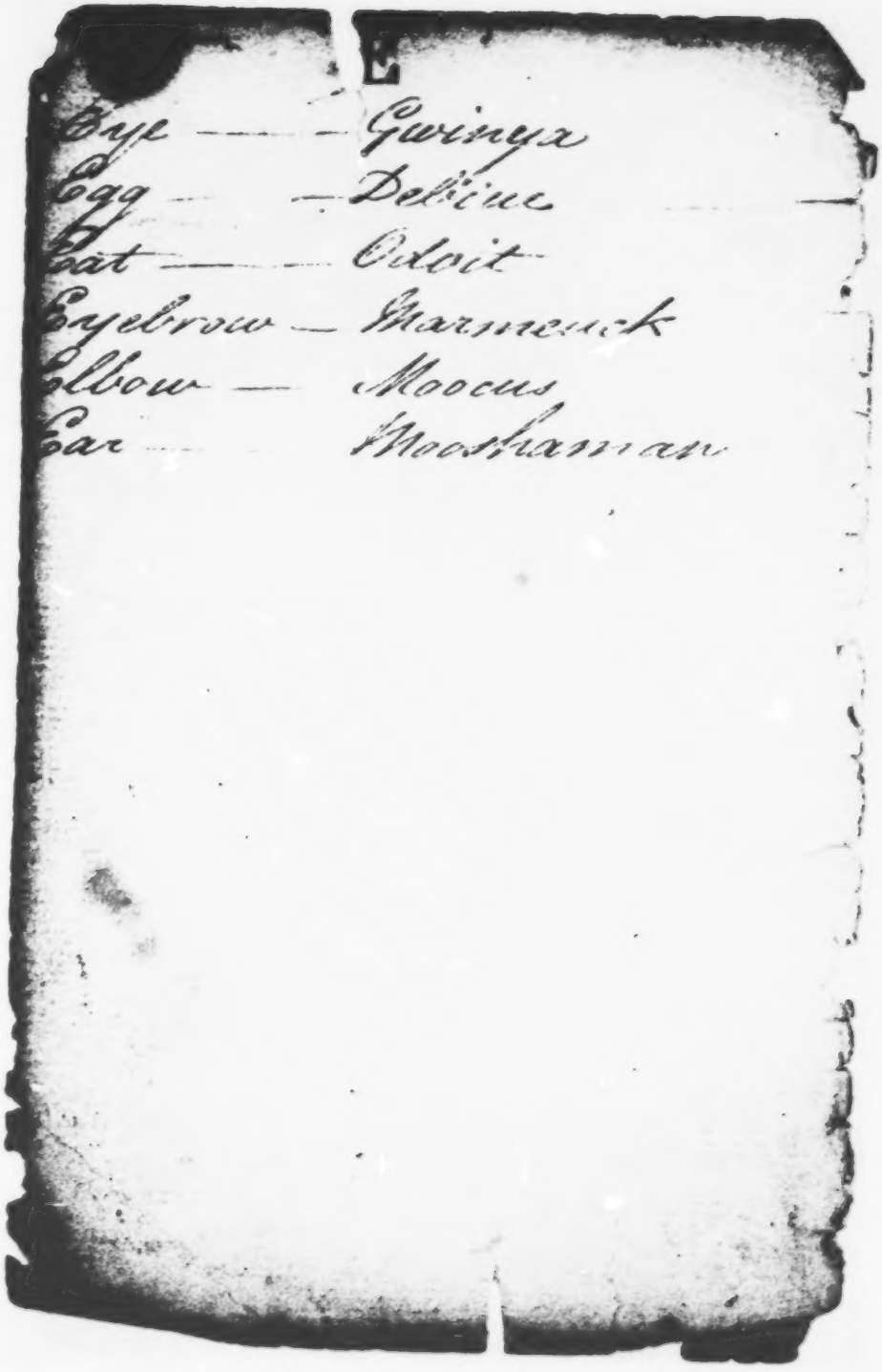

Eye — Gwinyx
Egg — Delline
Coat — Odoit
Eyebrow — Marmeuck
Elbow — Moocus
Ear — Moothamaw

PLATE 15

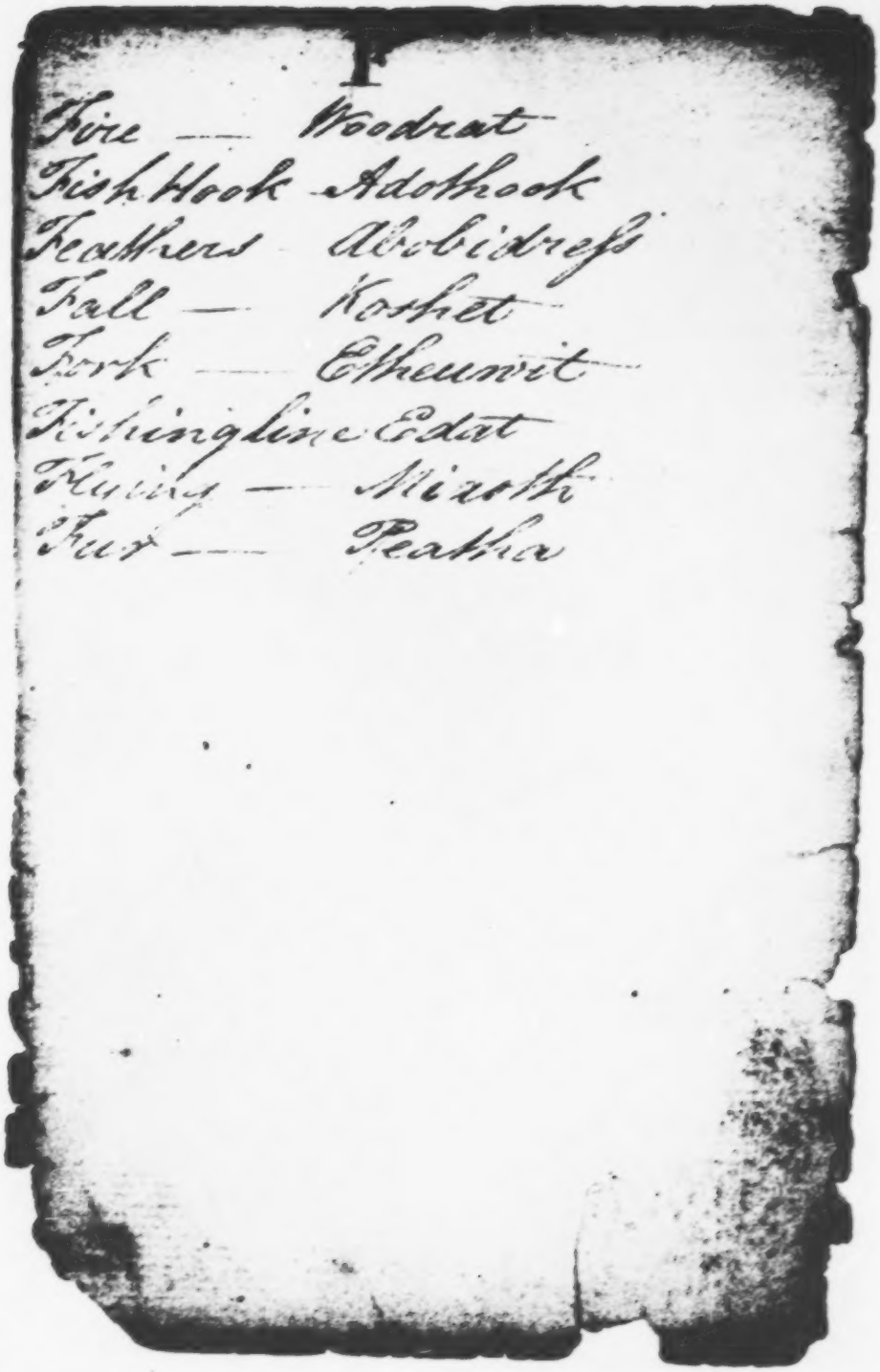

F
Fire — Woodrat
Fish Hook Adothook
Feathers Abobidrefs
Fall — Koshet
Fork — Eheumit
Fishingline Edat
Mouth — Mizoth
Foot — Peatha

PLATE 16

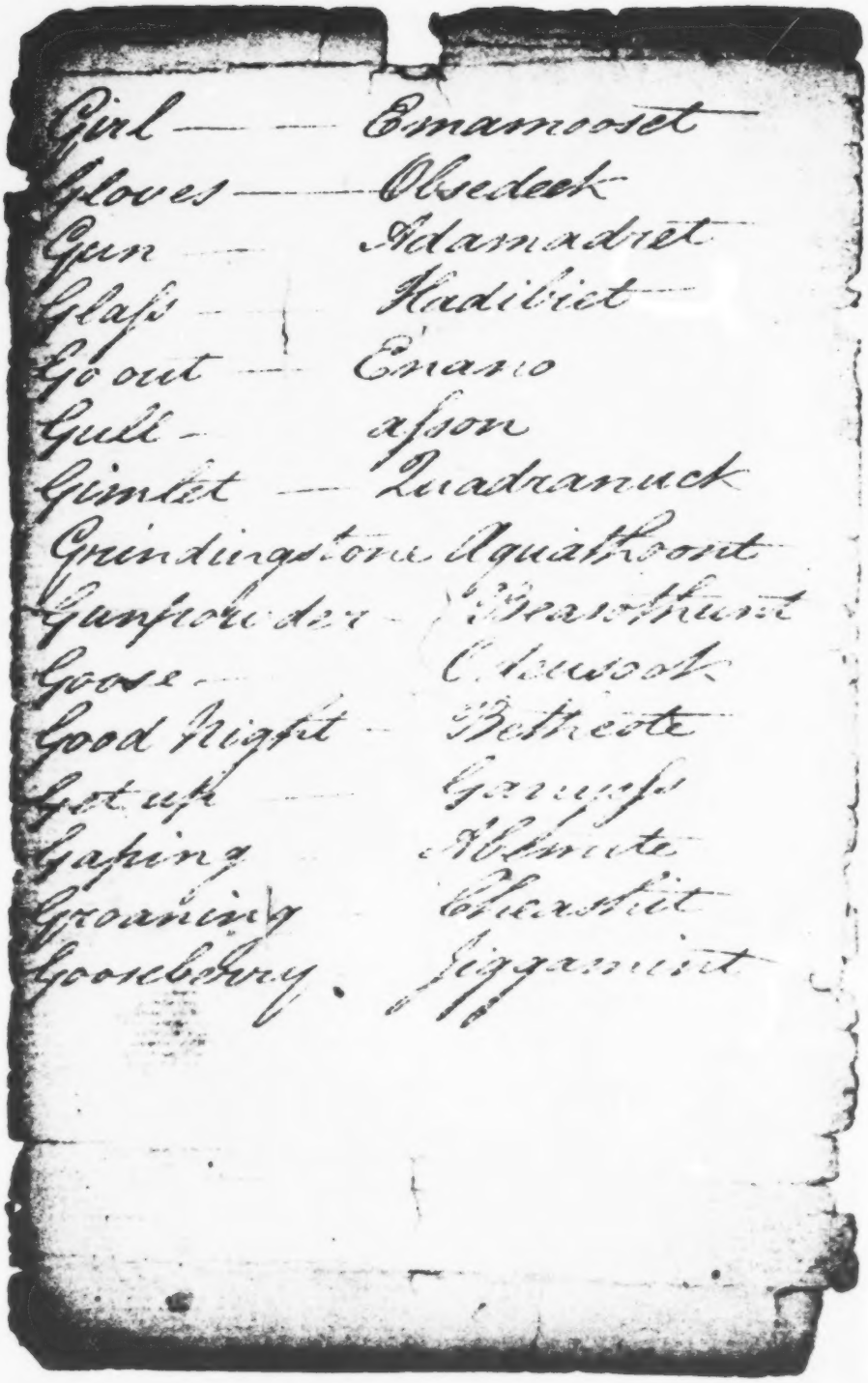

Girl — Emamooset
Gloves — Olsedeek
Gun — Adamadnet
Glass — Hadilliet
Go out — Emano
Gull — ajson
Gimlet — Quadranuck
Grindingstone Aquathoost
Gunpowder — Mashhunt
Goose — Chewoak
Good Night — Bethcote
Get up — Genugsa
Gaping — Abbinute
Groaning — Chashit
Gooseberry — Jiggamist

PLATE 17

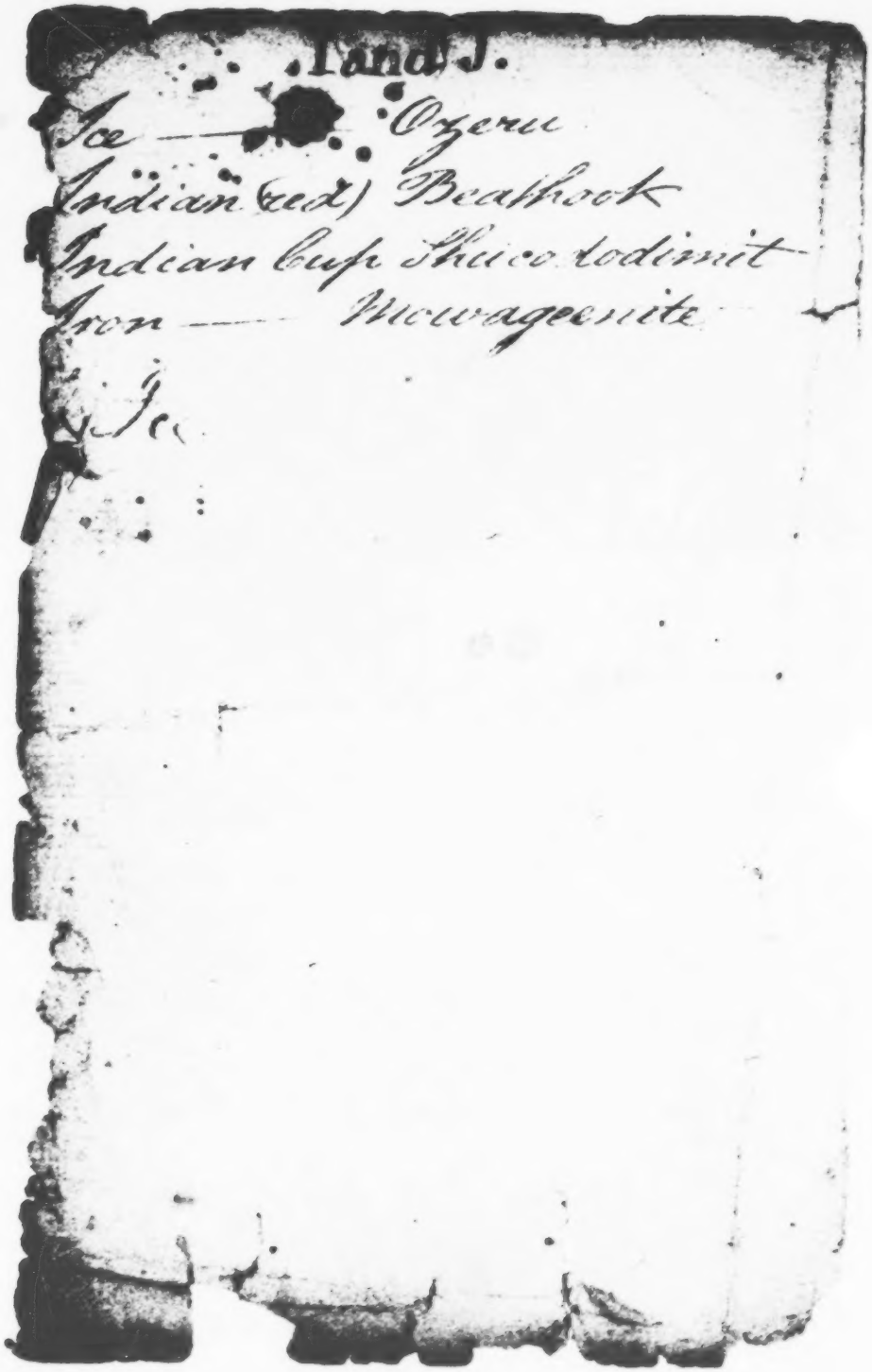

Tand J.
Ice —— Ozeru
Indian (red) Beathook
Indian Cup Thuco todinnit
Iron —— Mowagennite
Ice

PLATE 18

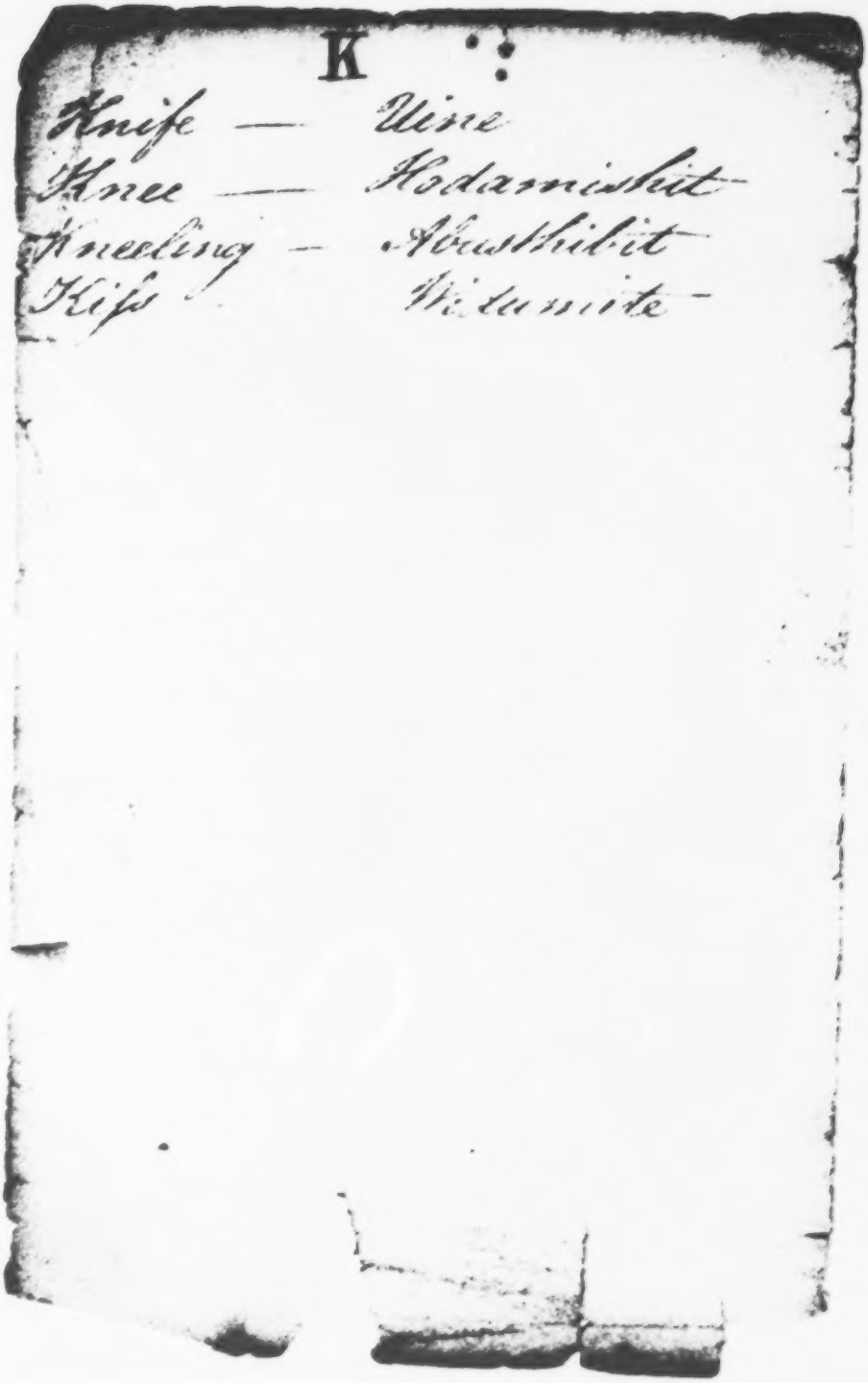

K
Kniefe — Kleine
Knee — Kodamnisbit
Kneeling — Kbrustbildt
Kiss Kidumite

PLATE 19

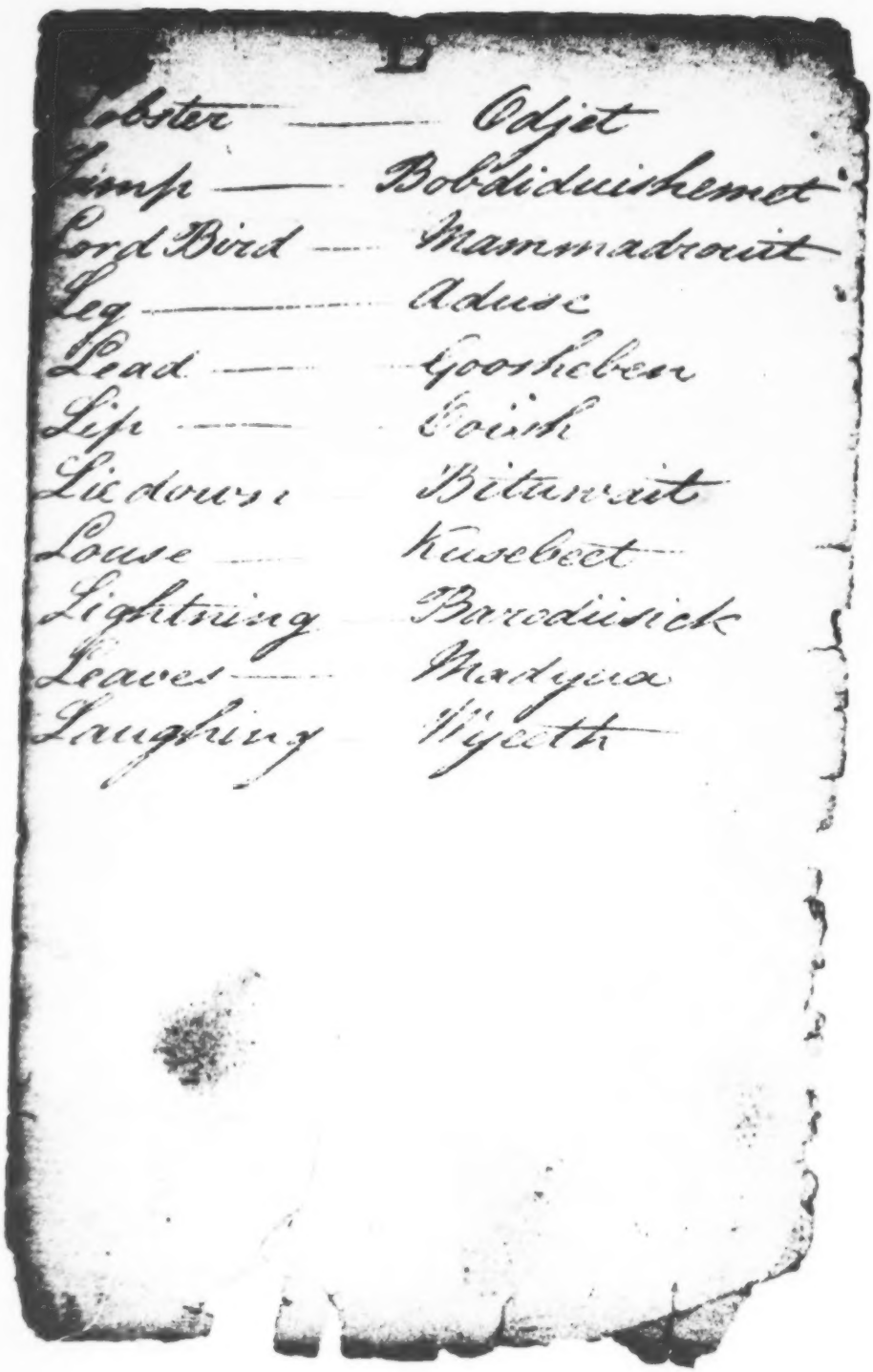

Lobster —— Odjet
Limp —— Bobdiduishemet
Lord Bird —— Maammadrouit
Leg —— Aduse
Lead —— Goosheben
Life —— Coiish
Lie down —— Bitanuit
Louse —— Kusebeet
Lightning —— Barodiisick
Leaves —— Madyua
Laughing —— Wyeth

PLATE 20

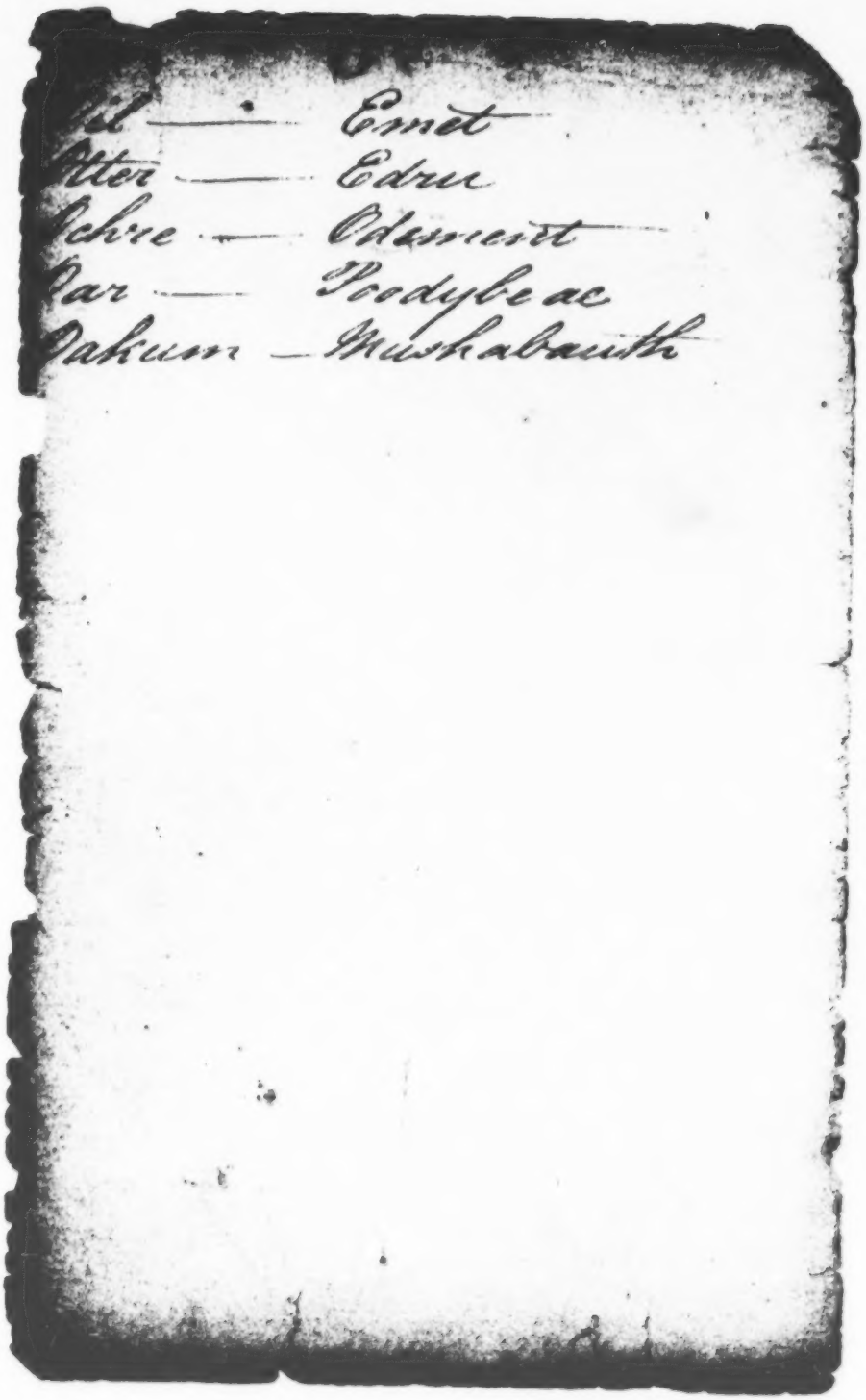


PLATE 21

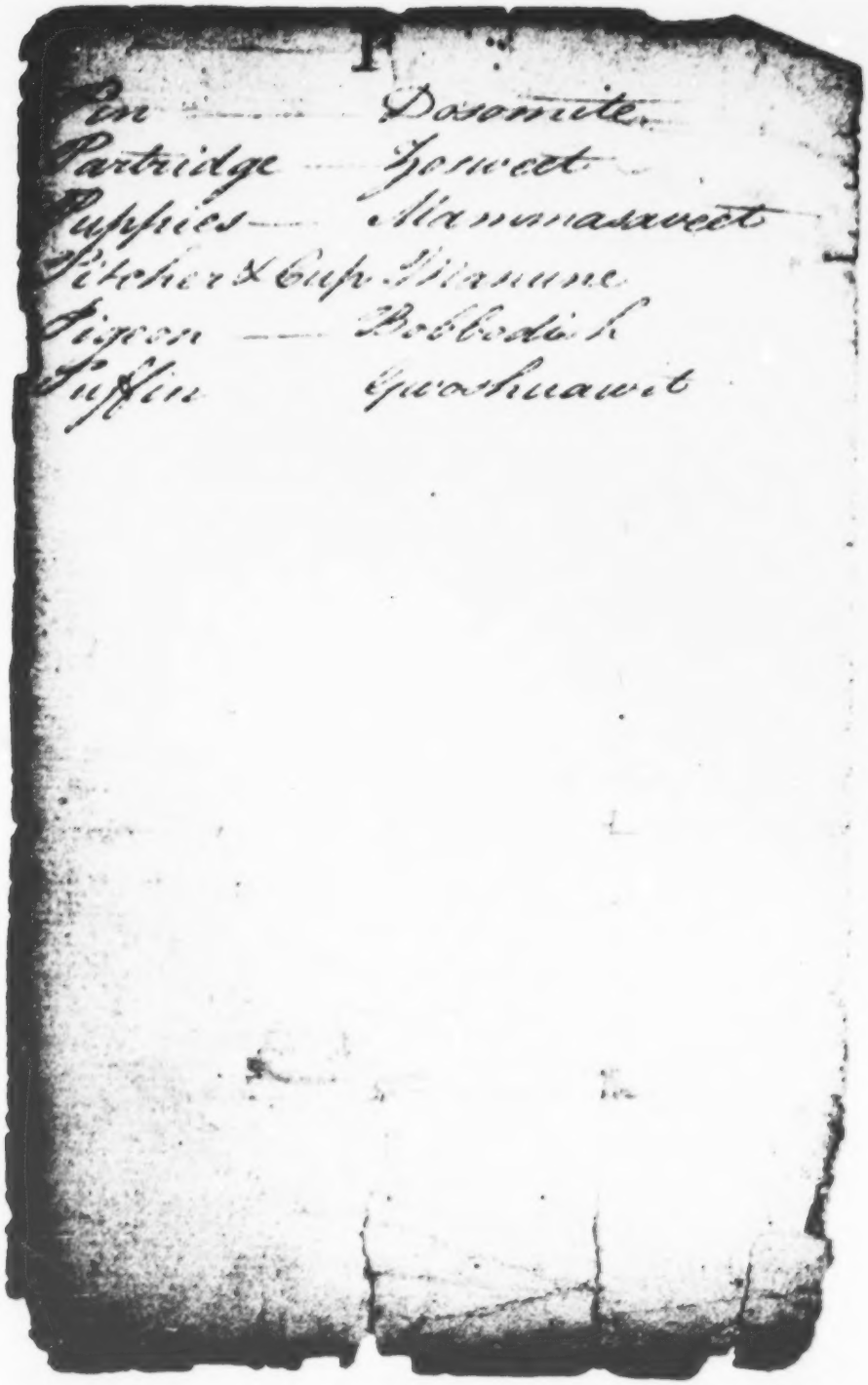

T
Bear —— Dosomite
Partridge —— Joweet
Pupkies —— Mammaweet
Fisher & Cup. Shamme
Pigeon —— Bobbedick
Fuffin —— Quashuawet

PLATE 22

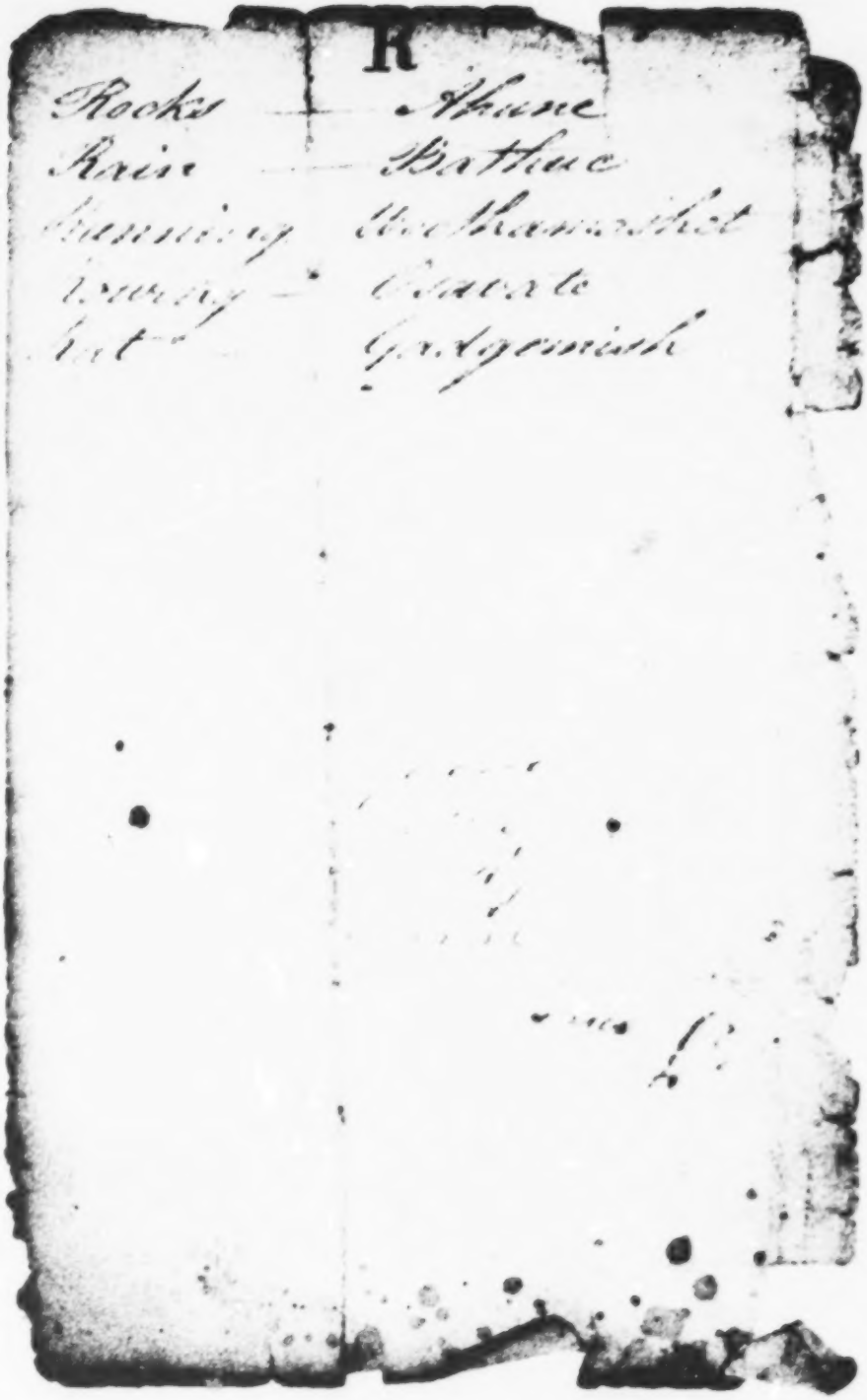


PLATE 23

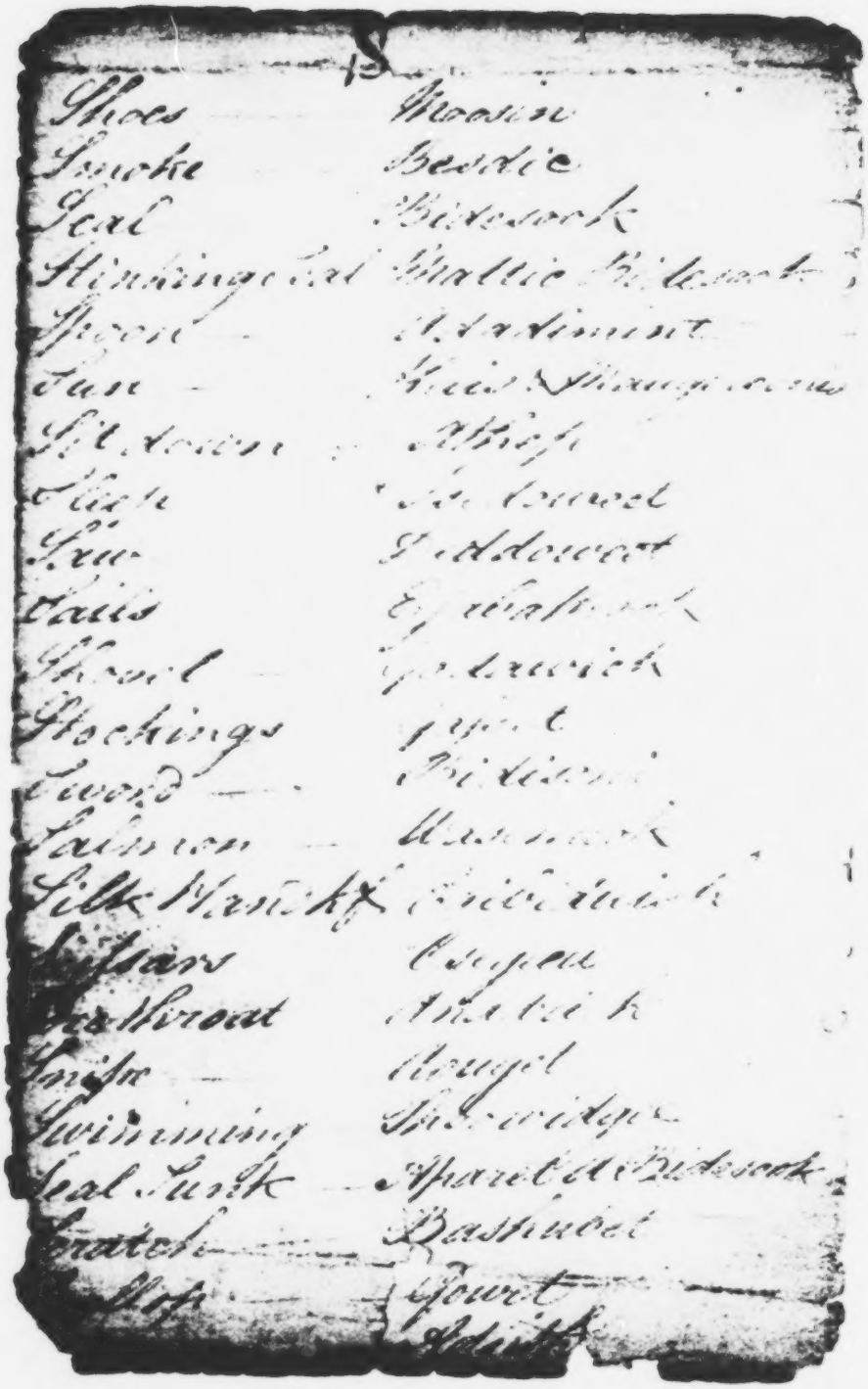


PLATE 24

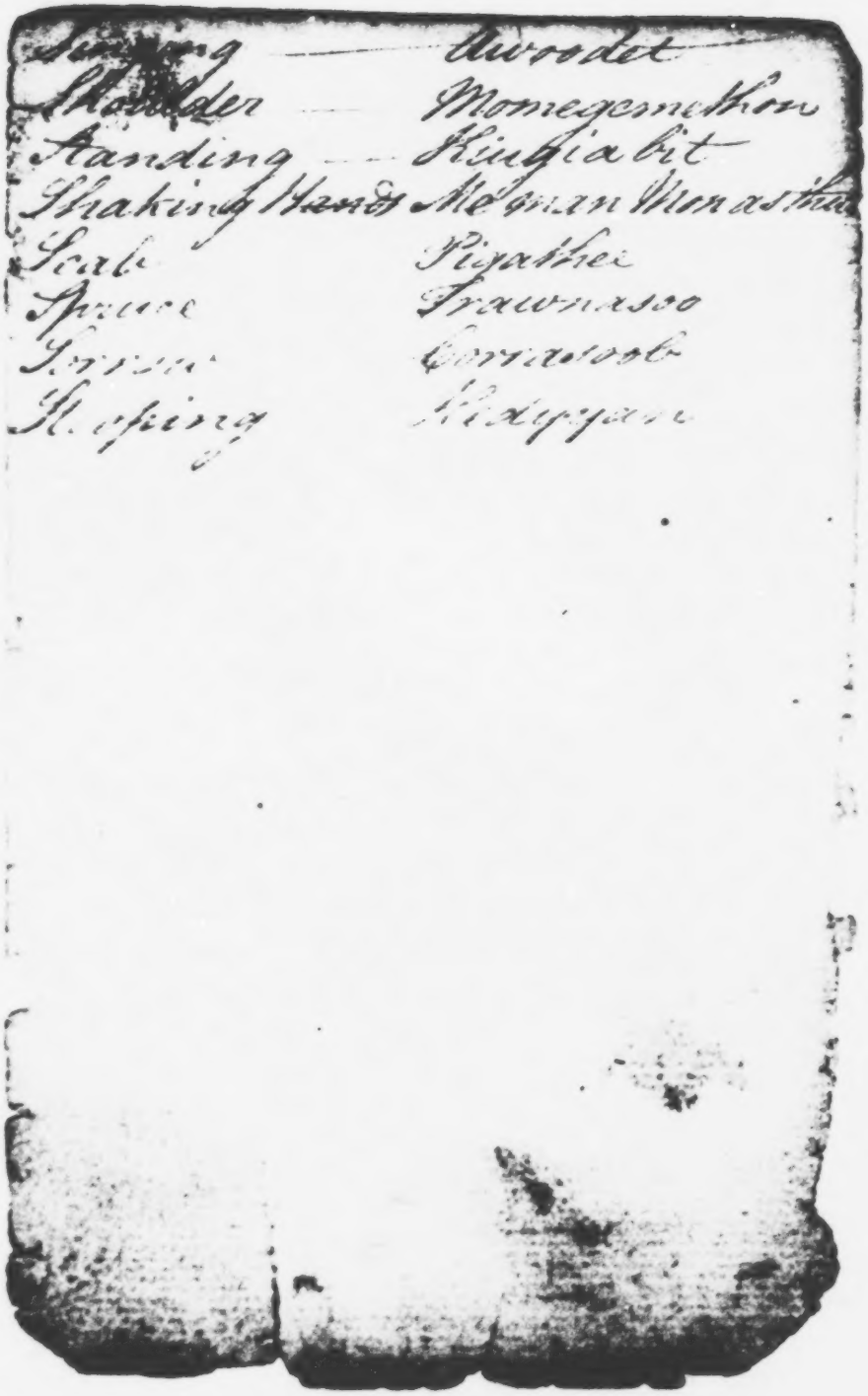

Sitting — Awoodet
Shoulder — Monegemethon
Standing — Kingiabit
Shaking Hands — Meguan Wunashan
Scale — Pipathee
Spruce — Trawwassoo
Spoon — Comaroob
Skipping — Kingyane

PLATE 25

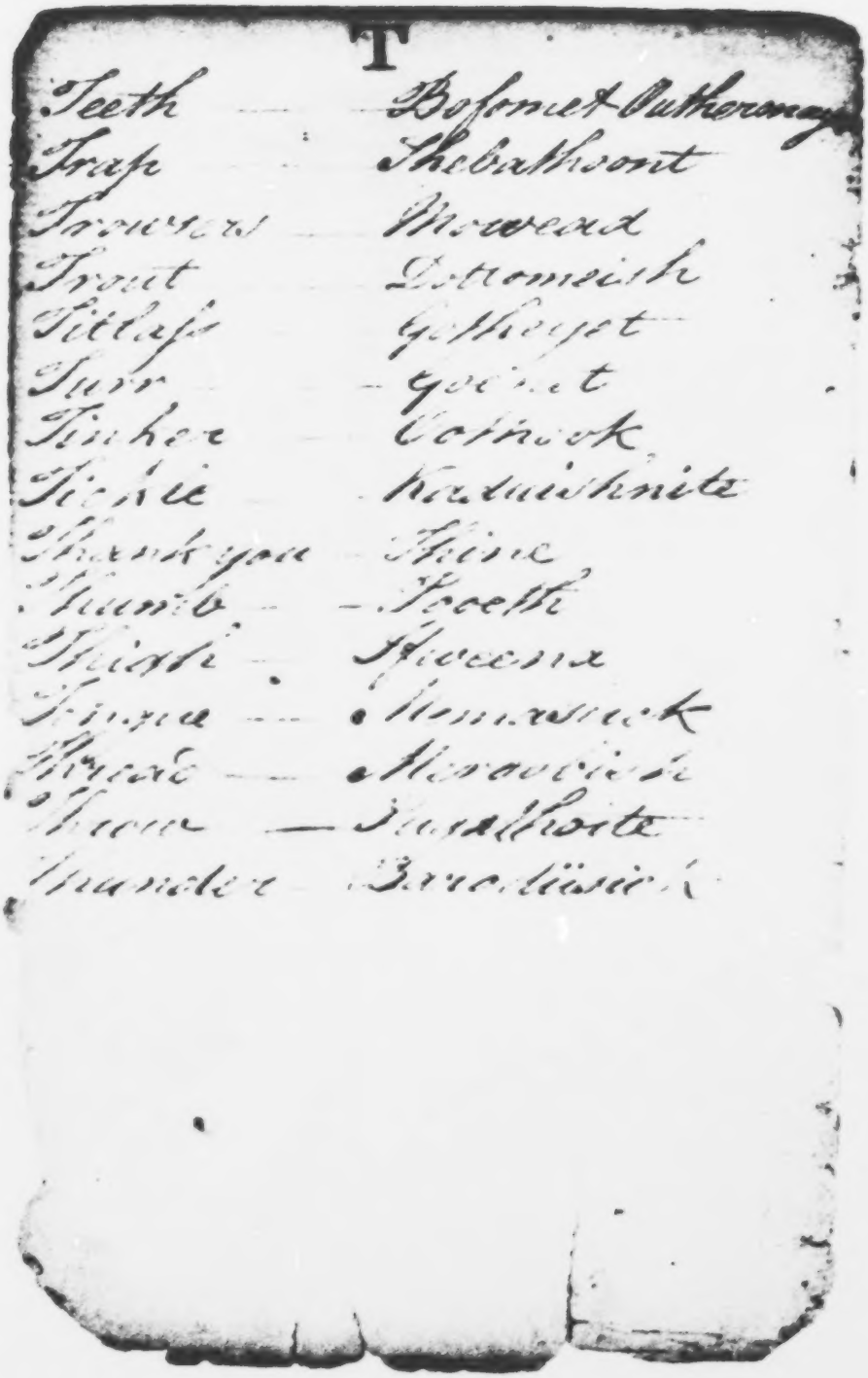

T
Teeth — Bofonet Butterang
Trap — Thebathoont
Trowsers — Mowead
Trout — Detomeish
Tittle — Gethoget
Turn — Geiset
Tinker — Cotnock
Tickle — Nadmishnite
Thankyou — Shine
Thumb — Teeth
Thirst — Thoosne
Tongue — Nemmock
Tongue — Nemmeish
Throw — Tandhoite
Thunder — Tandissick

PLATE 26

The Robinson Vocabulary

PLATE 27

Vocabulary
of the Language of
the Natives of
Newfoundland
procured by the Revd
J. Leigh from Mary
March a Native
Woman taken up the
Exploits by Wm Peyton
in March 1818.

PLATE 28

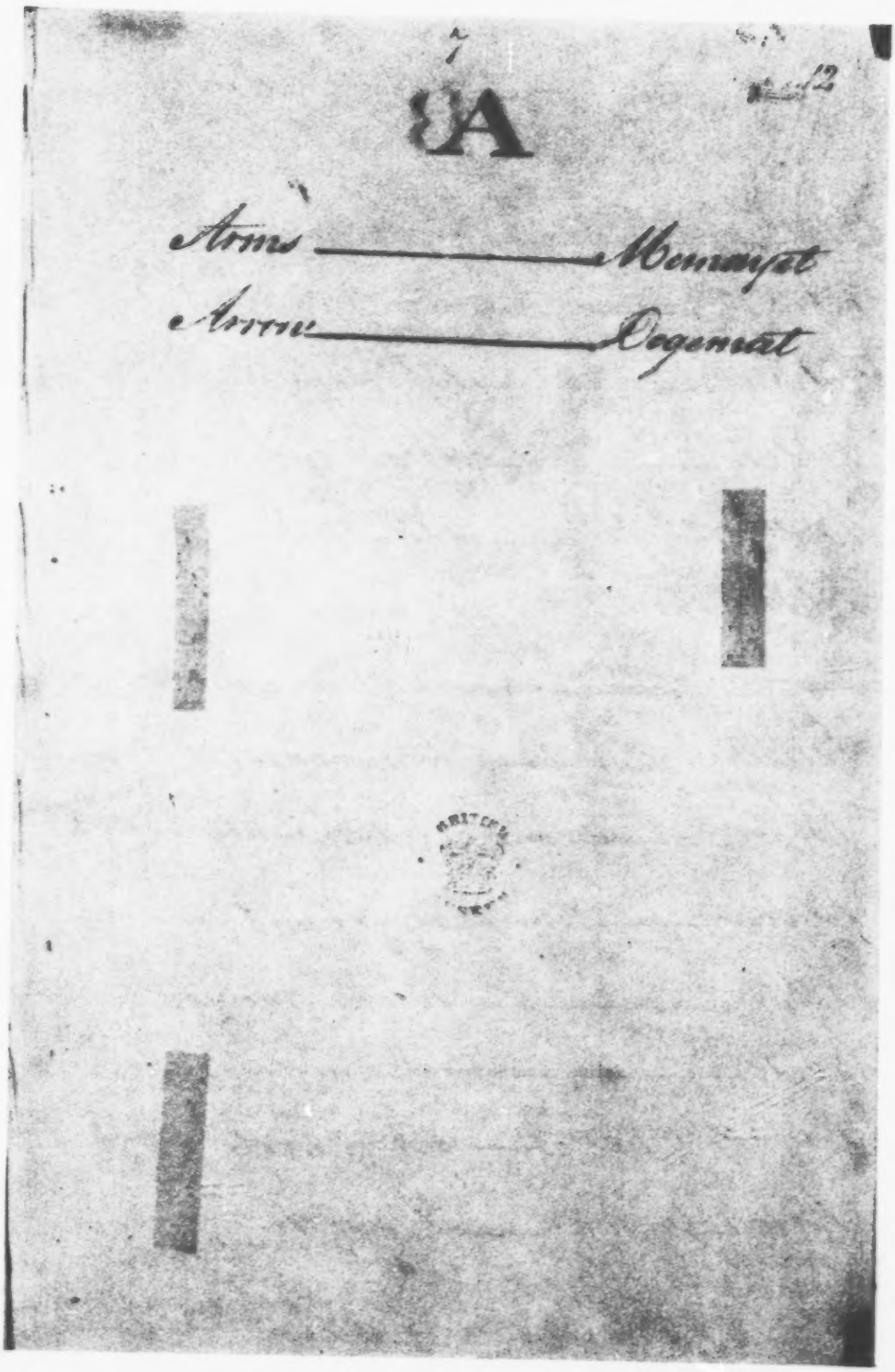


PLATE 29

B

Boy _____ Bahashanaan

Breast _____ Bagemat

Bonnet _____ Abodence

Beaver _____ Mamehet

Boat or Vessel ____ Adelthe

Button or Money ___ Agamet

Berries _____ Bebidigomidee

Blanket _____ Mamenoril

Bear _____ Apoashawet

Blood _____ Jizebaubi

Bleat _____ Bubashawide

Bite _____ Bashudete

Blow the nose ___ Shegamiel

Birds pined ____ Boyishe

PLATE 30

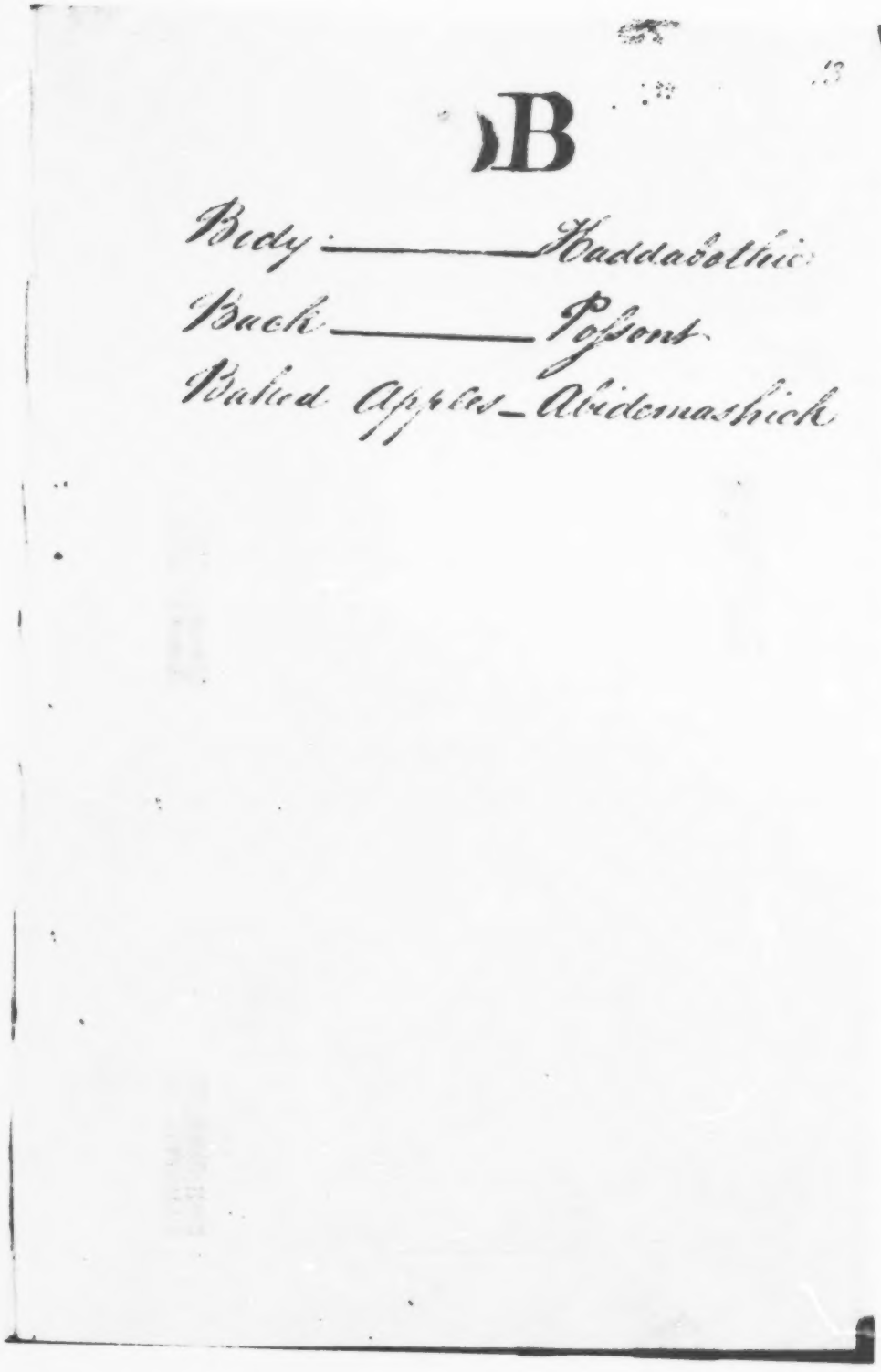

B
Body ——— Haddadolthic
Back ——— Pofsont
Valued Apples Abidemashick

PLATE 31

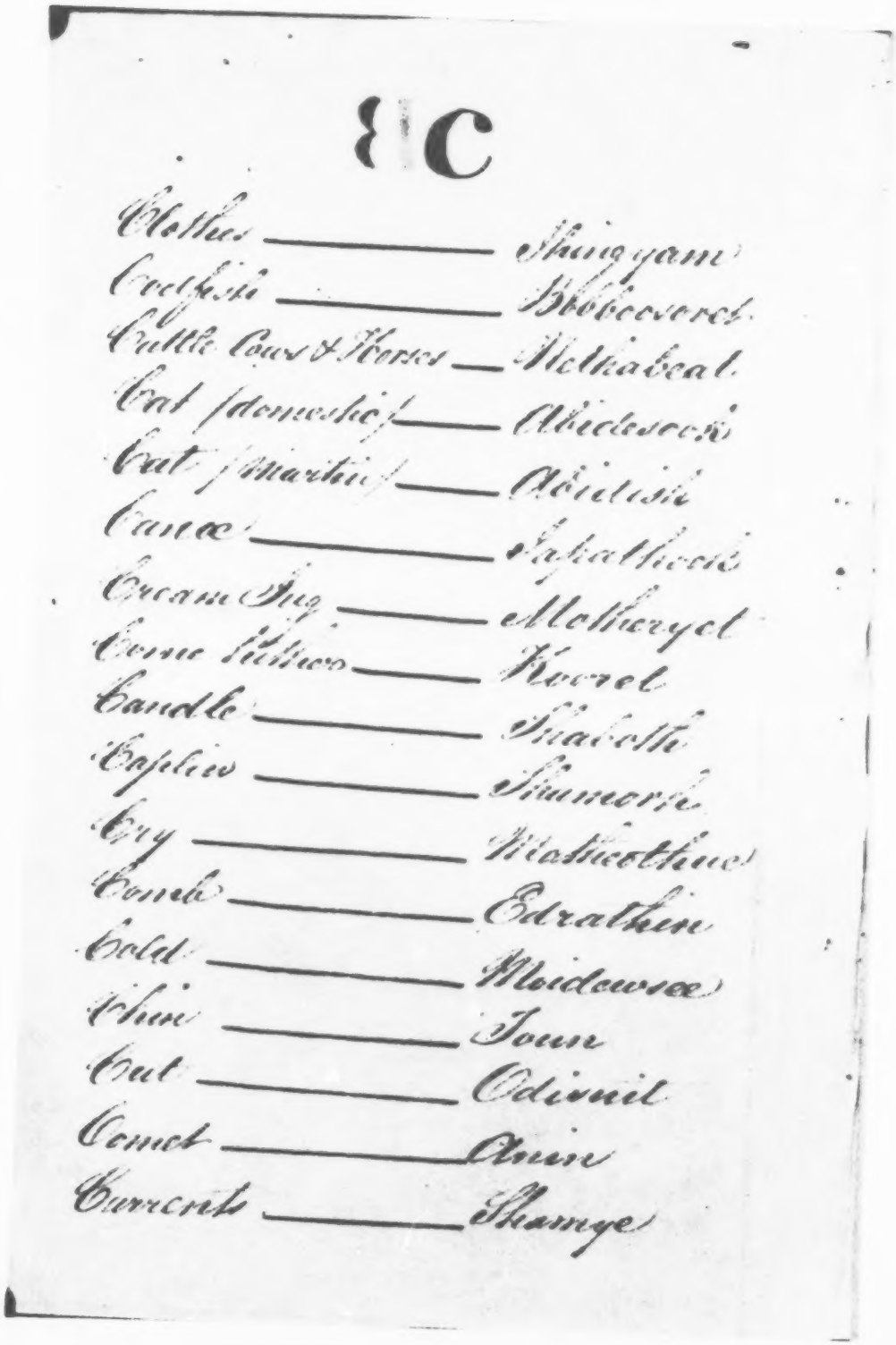

C
Clothes
Coal fish
Cattle Cows & Horses
Cat domestic
Cat Martin
Canoe
Cream Jug
Come Sitter
Candle
Captain
Cry
Comb
Cold
Chin
Coat
Comet
Current

PLATE 32

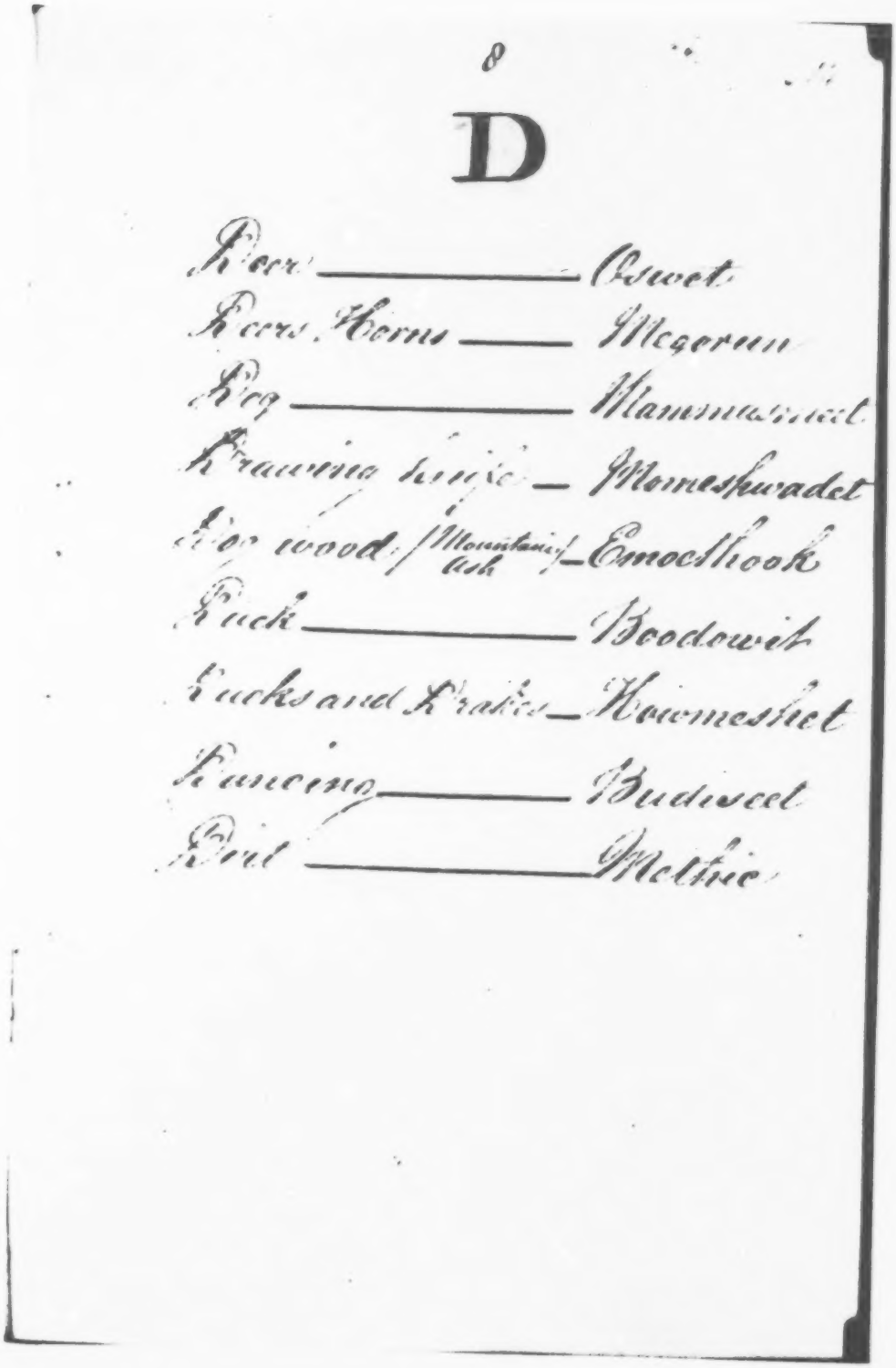

8
D
Deer _____ Cuwet
Deers Horns ____ Megerum
Dog _____ Mammawsal
Drawing knife _ Monneskwadet
Dog wood / Mountain ash _ Emocklook
Duck _____ Woodowit
Ducks and Drakes _ Kowmeshet
Dancing _____ Budweel
Devil _____ Meltie

PLATE 33

E

Eye _____ Giiinya

Egg _____ Deline

Eat _____ Odvil

Eyebrow _____ Marmeuch

Elbow _____ Mocus

Ear _____ Mochamau

PLATE 34

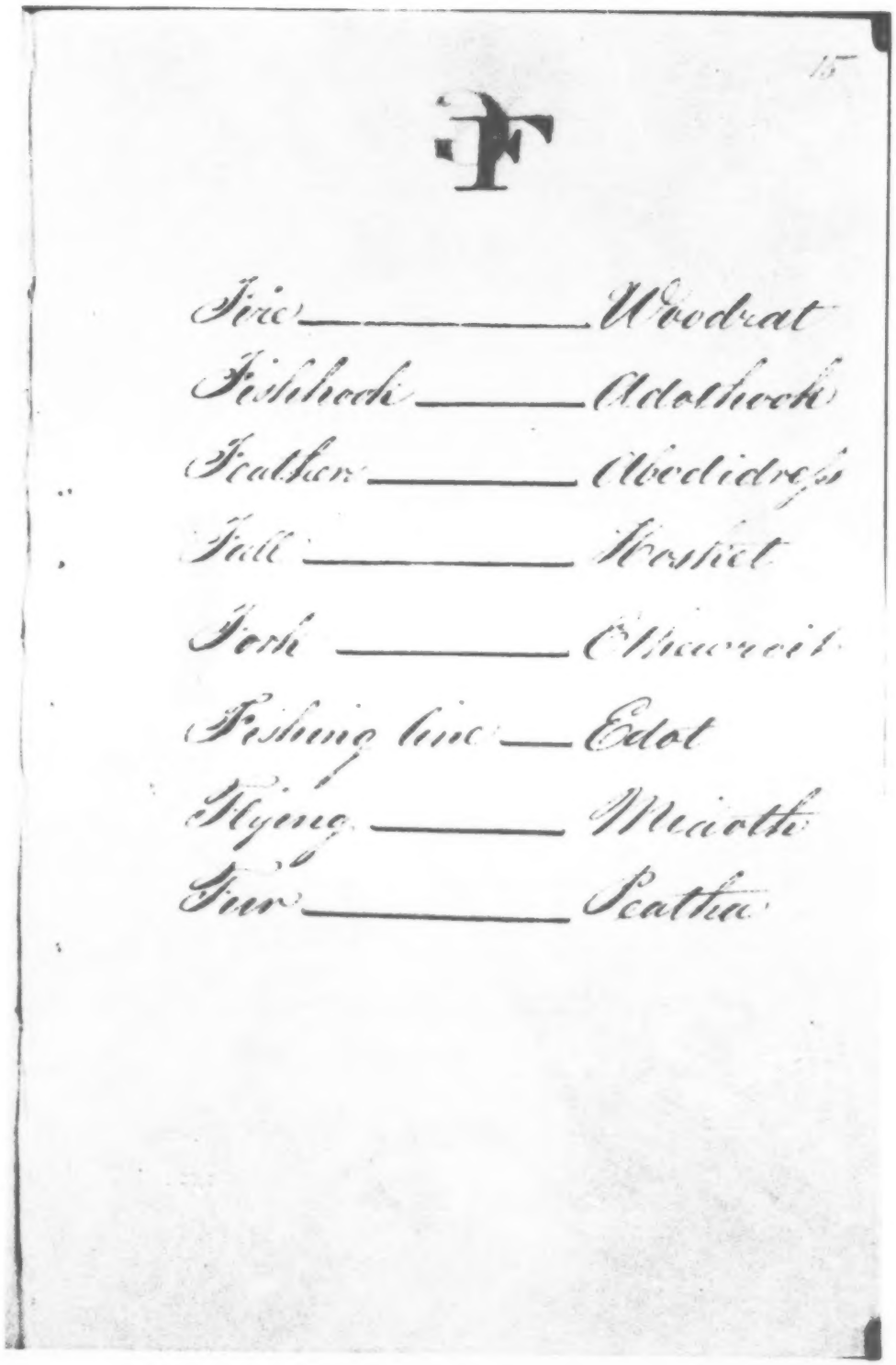

15
F
Fire ——— Woodrat
Fishhook ——— Adalbert
Feather ——— Abercidrop
Fall ——— Westfield
Fork ——— Chauncey
Fishing line ——— Edol
Flying ——— Macotte
Fin ——— Scatter

PLATE 35

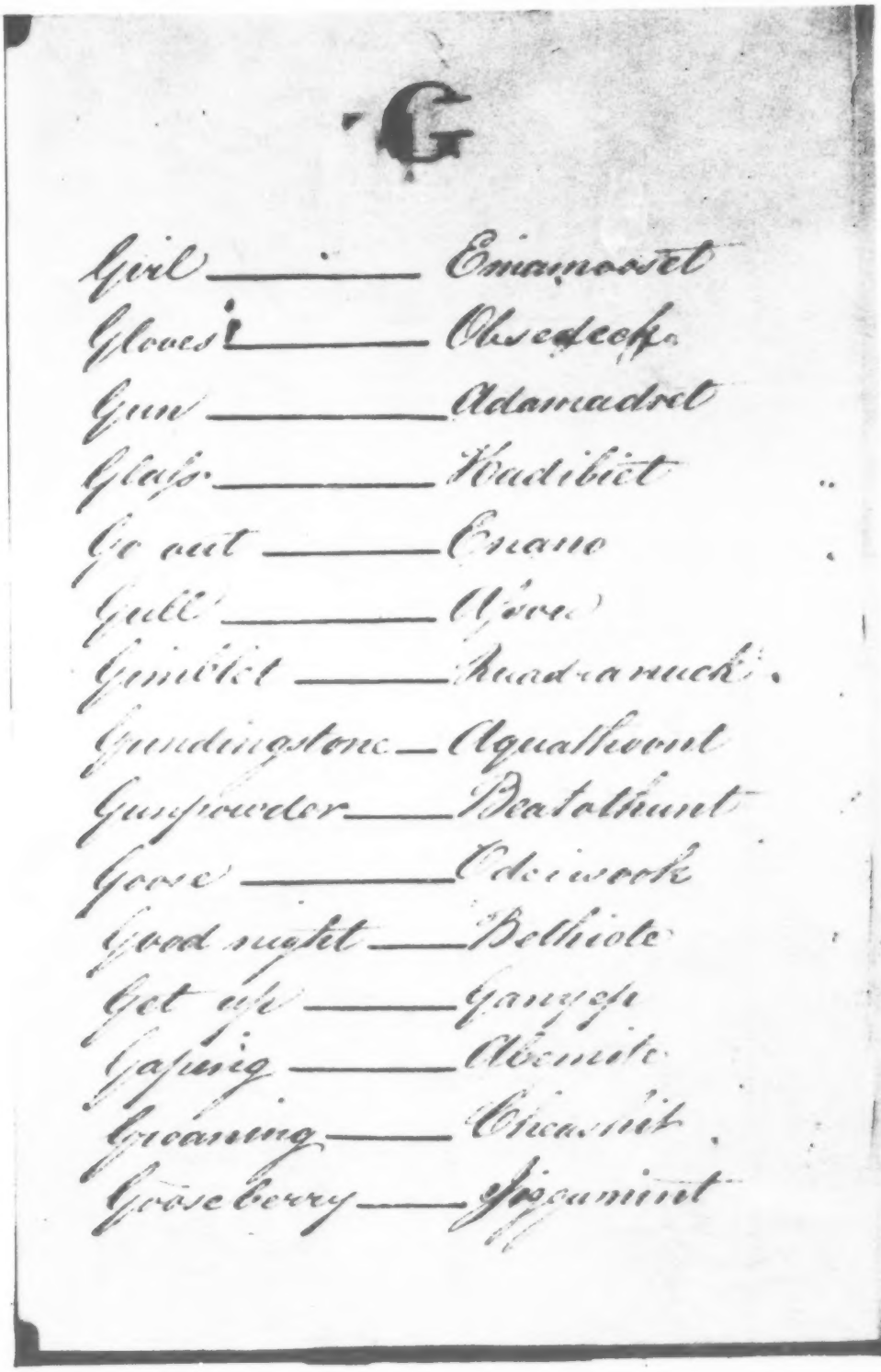
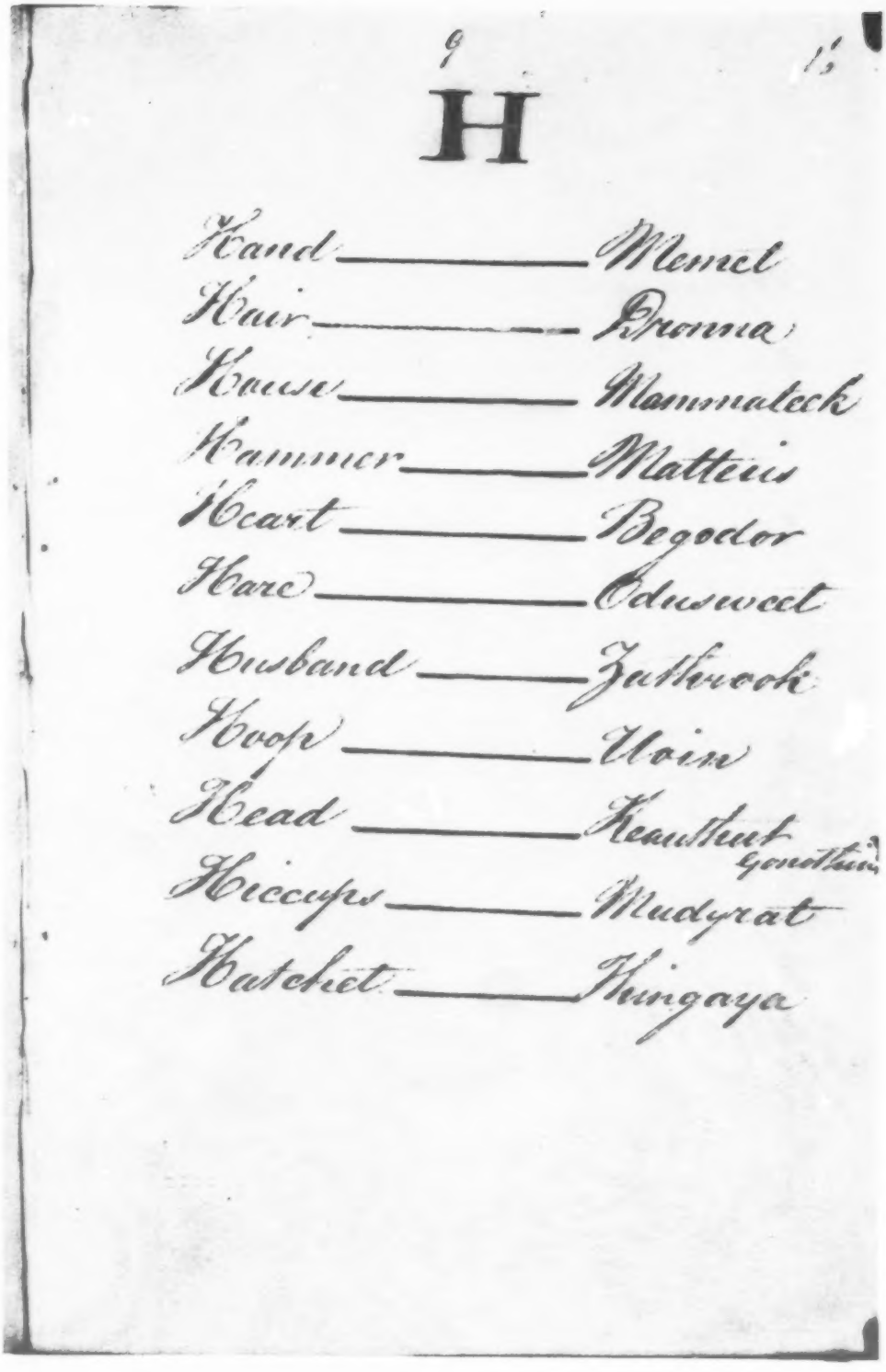

G
Girl ——— Emiamoosel
Gloves ——— Obsedeeks
Gun ——— Adamadool
Glass ——— Wadibiet
Go out ——— Enano
Gull ——— Ojoos
Gimblet ——— Wadamuck
Grindingstone — Aqualhoont
Gunpowder ——— Bealalhunt
Goose ——— Odeiwook
Good natel ——— Belhiole
Get up ——— Ganyosi
Gaping ——— Abemito
Groaning ——— Chiasnit
Gooseberry ——— Sojaminit

PLATE 36



9 1/2

H

Hand _____ Menet

Hair _____ Dronna

House _____ Mammaleek

Hammer _____ Matteis

Heart _____ Begodor

Hare _____ Odnuweet

Husband _____ Zathwook

Hoof _____ Uoin

Head _____ Keauthut
Gondthut

Hiccups _____ Mudyrat

Hatchet _____ Kingaya

PLATE 37

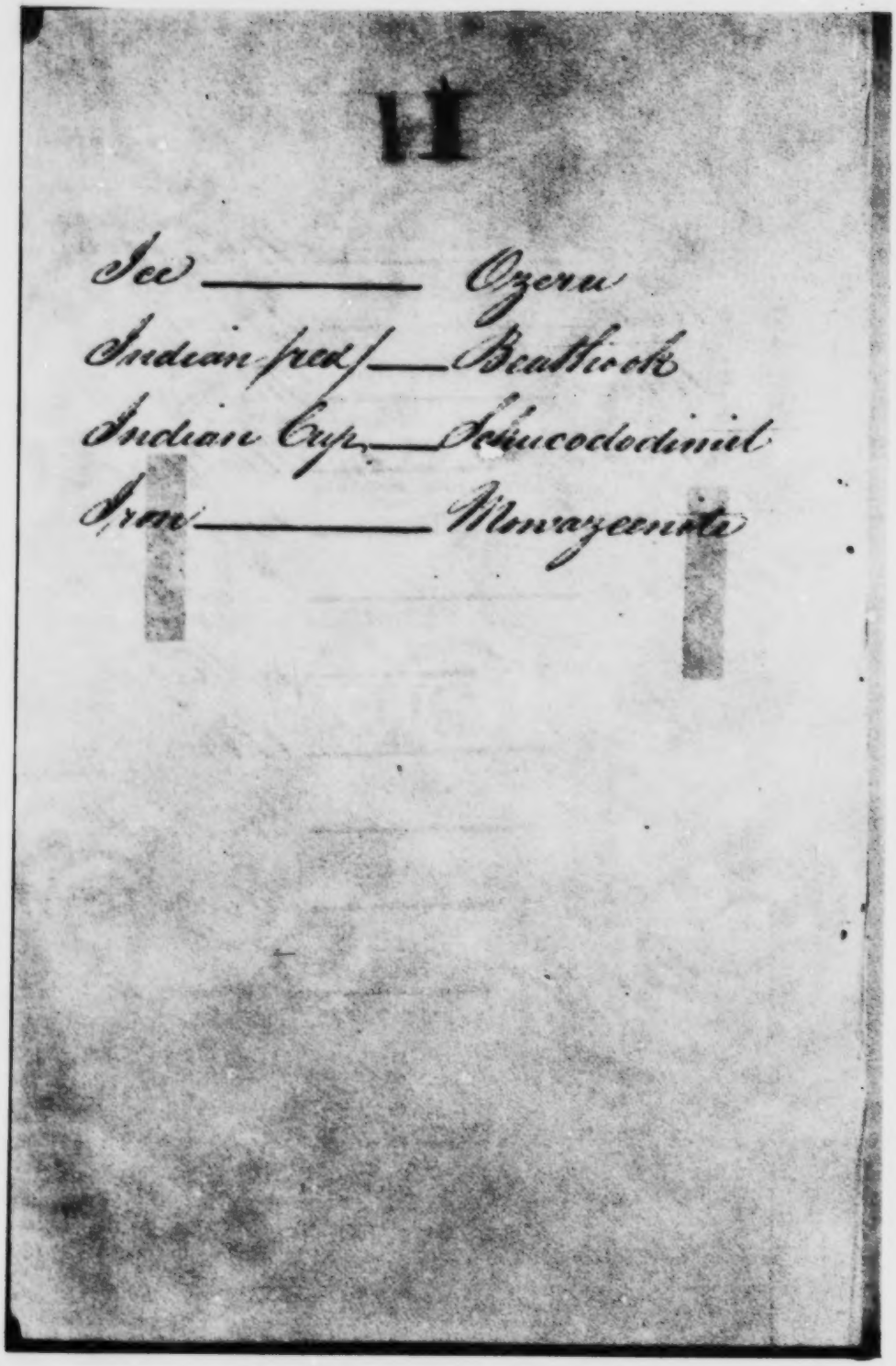

H
Ice _____ Ozeru
Indian pred. ___ Beatbrook
Indian Cup ___ Schucododuniel
Iron _____ Monazeenite

PLATE 38

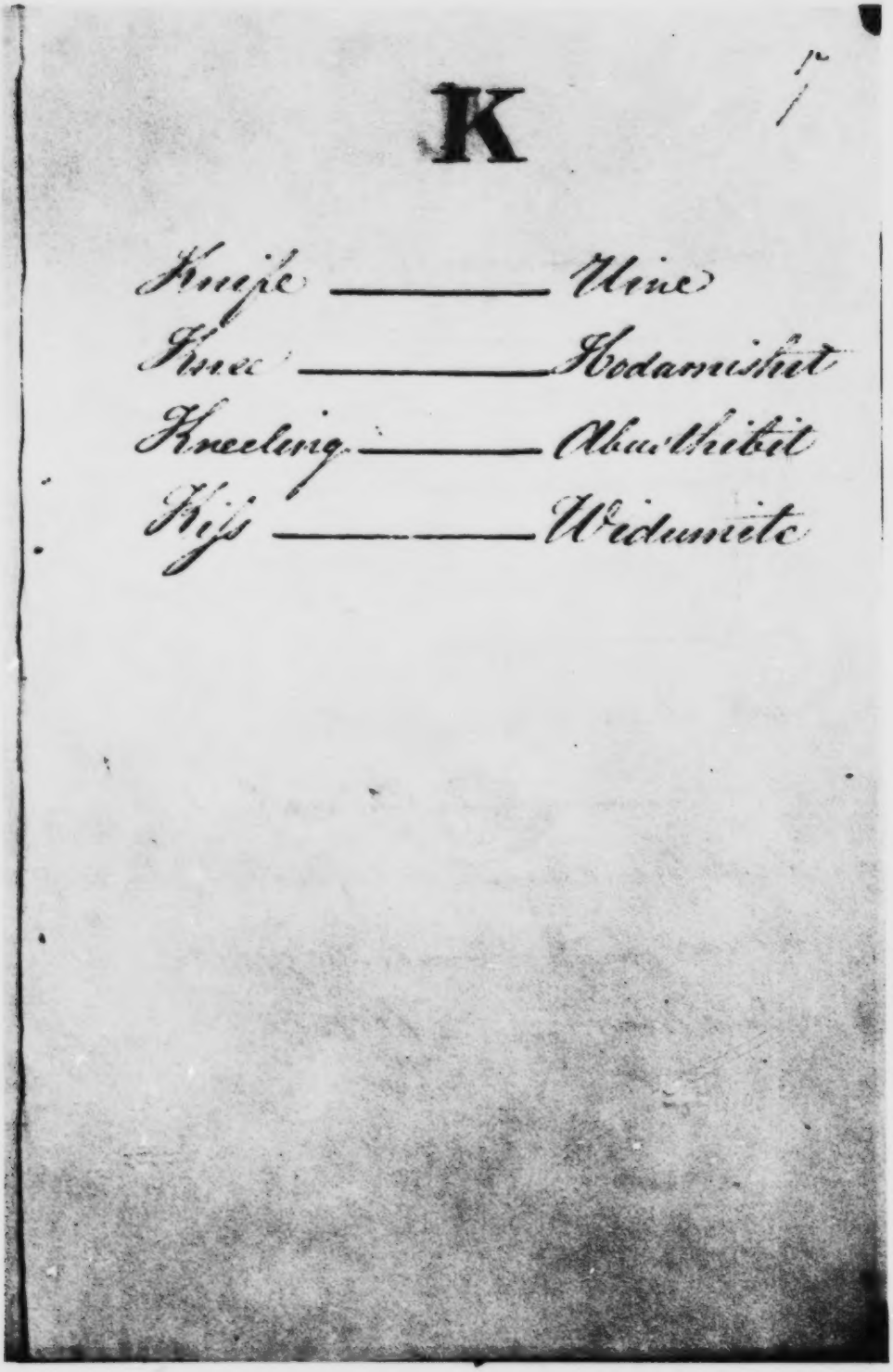

K
Knife
Knee
Kneeling
Kiss
Wine
Kodamisiket
Kbuthibil
Widumiete

PLATE 39

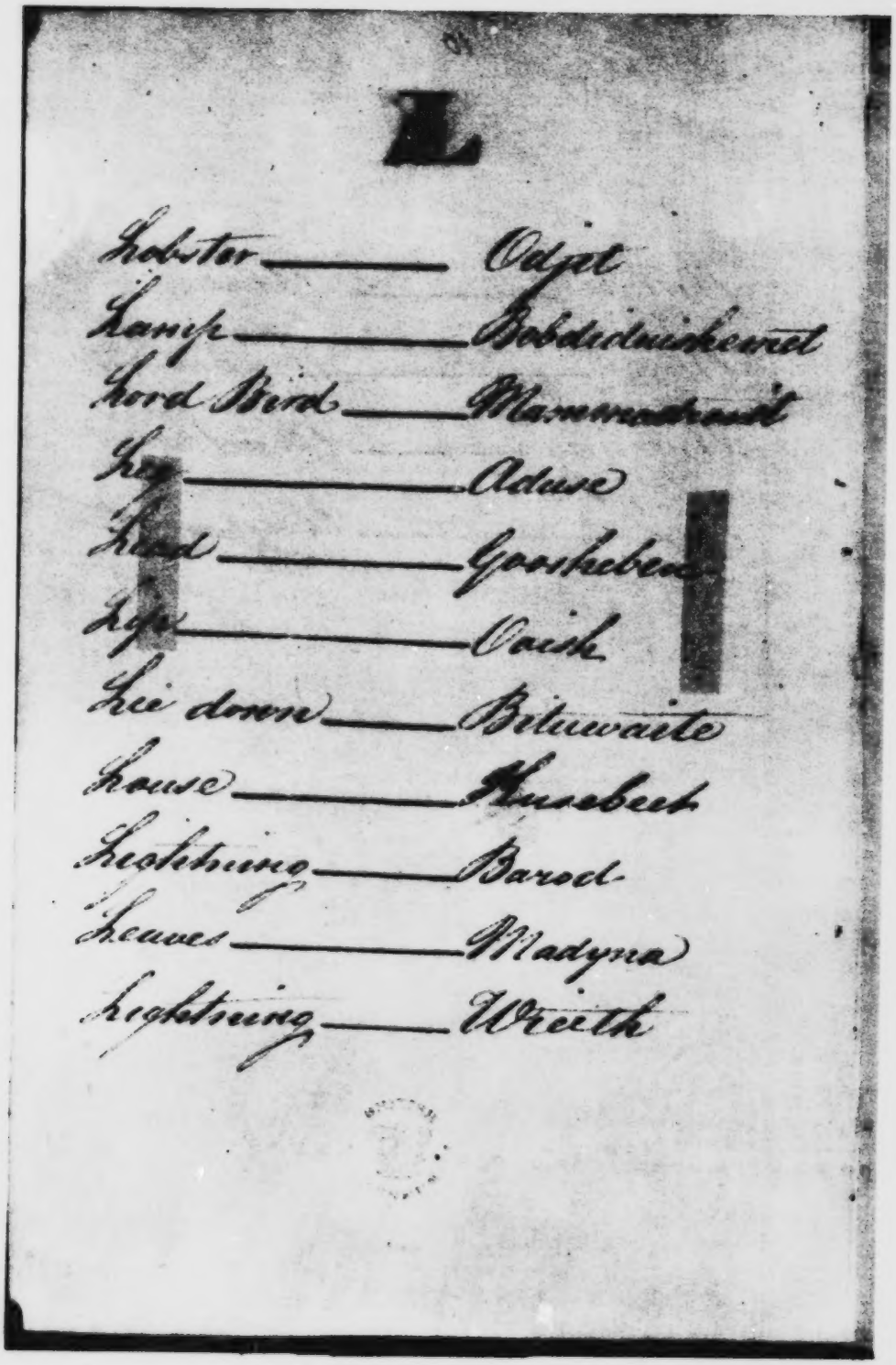

L
Lobster ——— Odjel
Lamp ——— Bobdedunkeweet
Lord Bird ——— Mammadandi
Leg ——— Aduse
Head ——— Goosheben
Eye ——— Oaish
Lie down ——— Bituwaite
House ——— Wunebeek
Testifying ——— Bawod
Leaves ——— Wadyma
Lightning ——— Wreith

PLATE 40

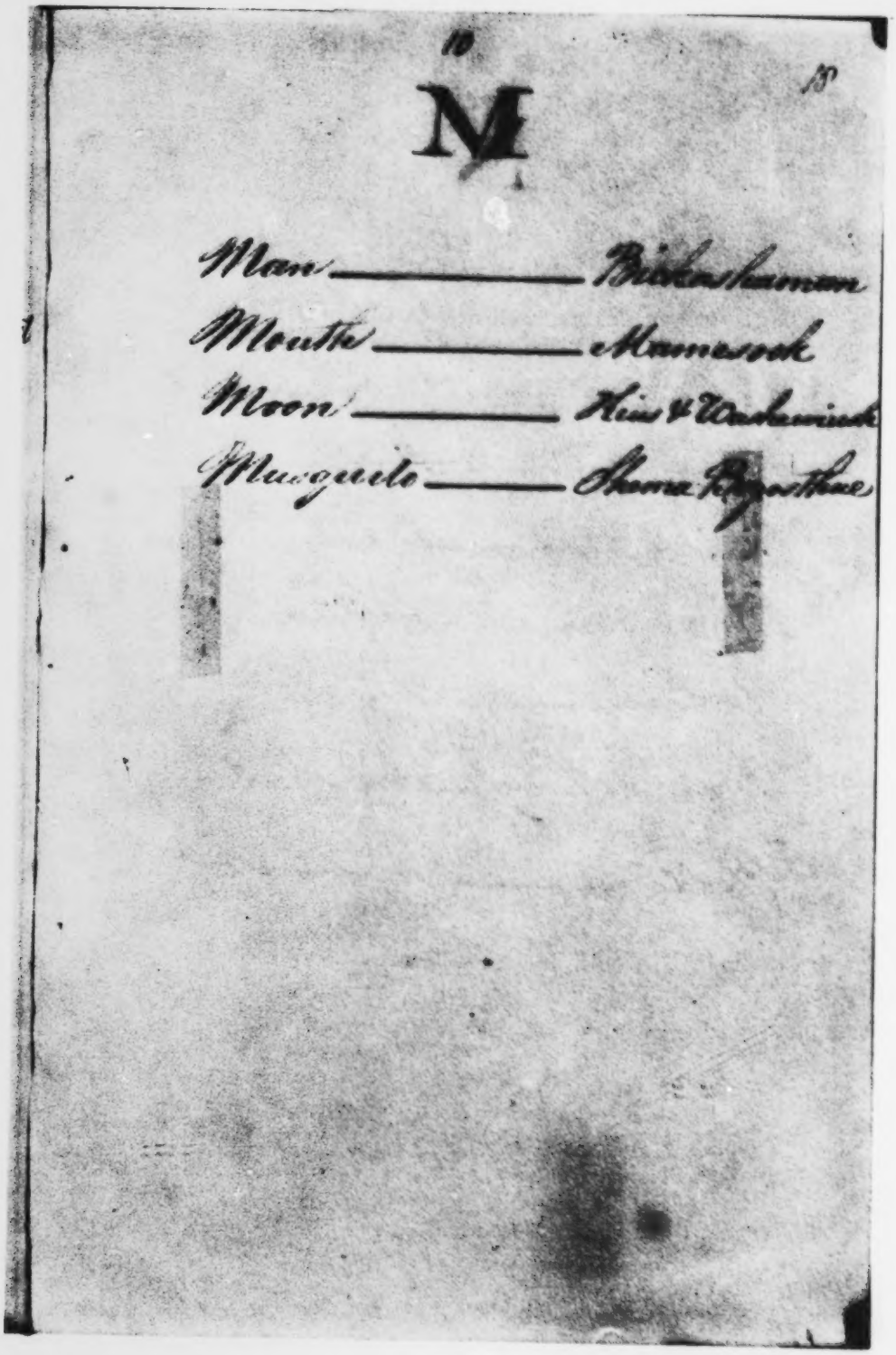
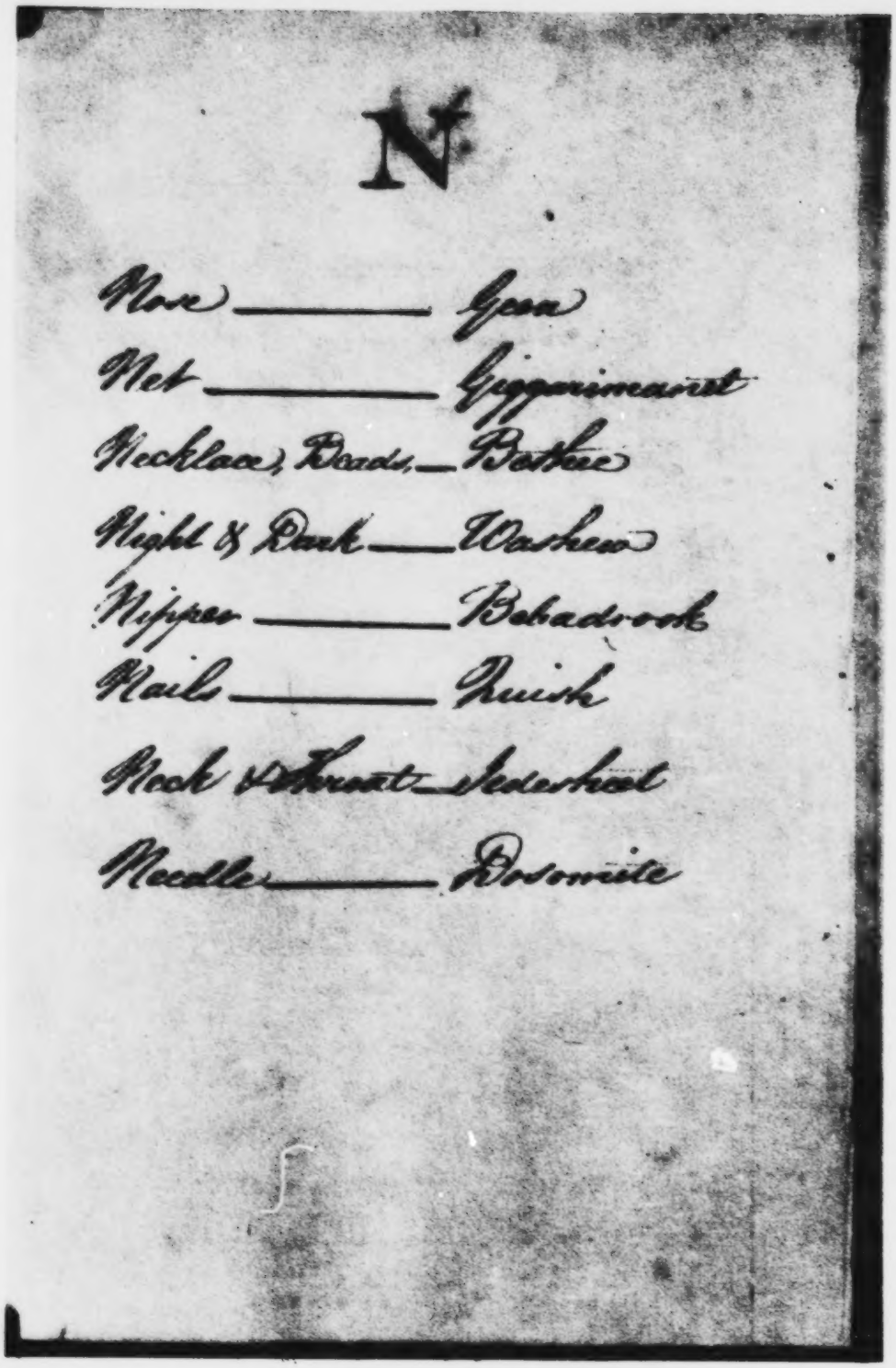


PLATE 41



N

Nose _____ Yeen

Net _____ Eggarimaant

Necklace, Beads, _ Batkee

Night & Dark ___ Washeu

Nipples _____ Bebadrook

Nails _____ Ruish

Neck & Throat _ Nederhal

Needle _____ Dosonite

PLATE 42

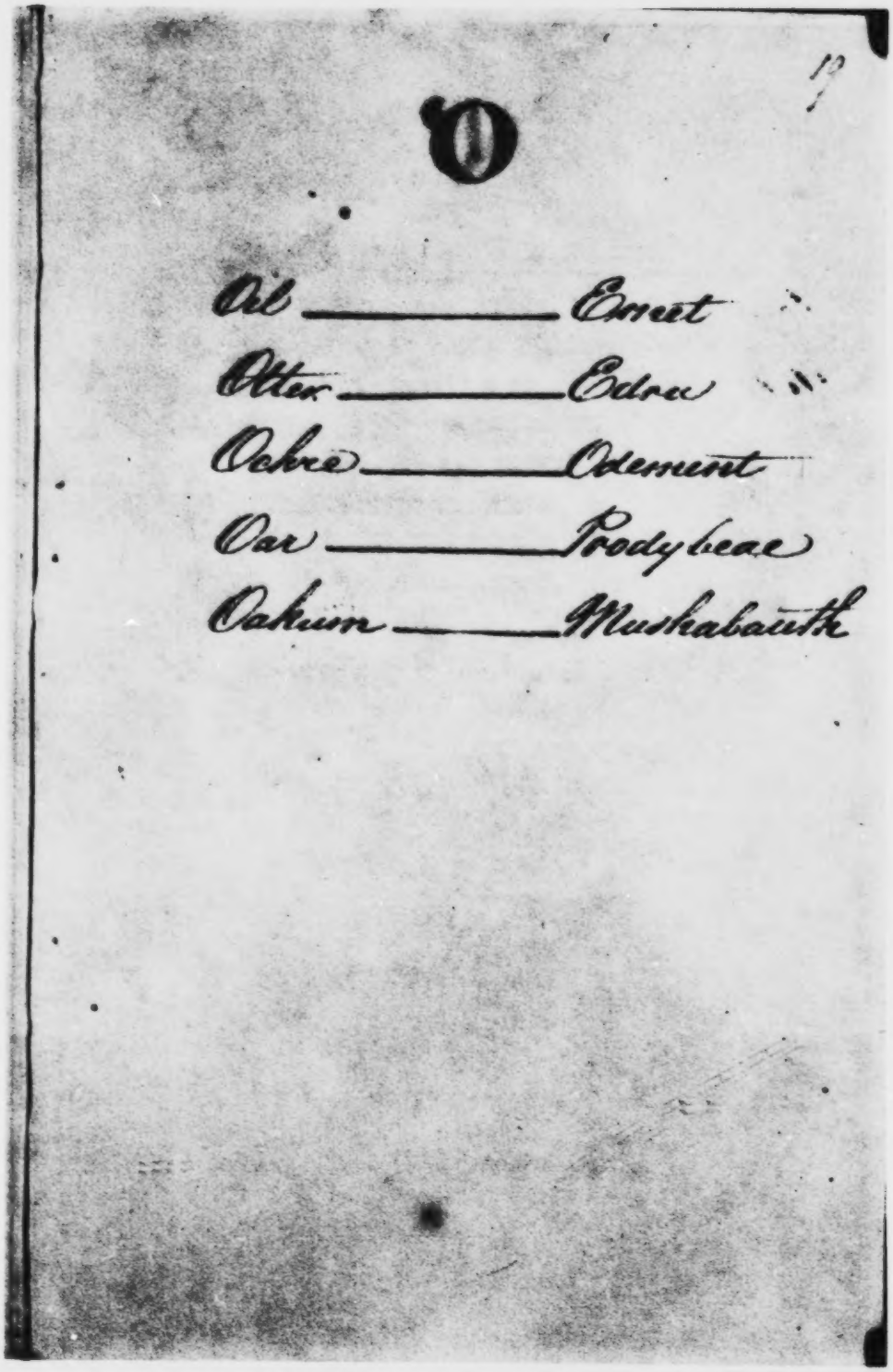

O
Oil ——— Ennet
Otter ——— Edrew
Ochre ——— Odement
Oar ——— Poodybeae
Oakum ——— Muskabauth

PLATE 43

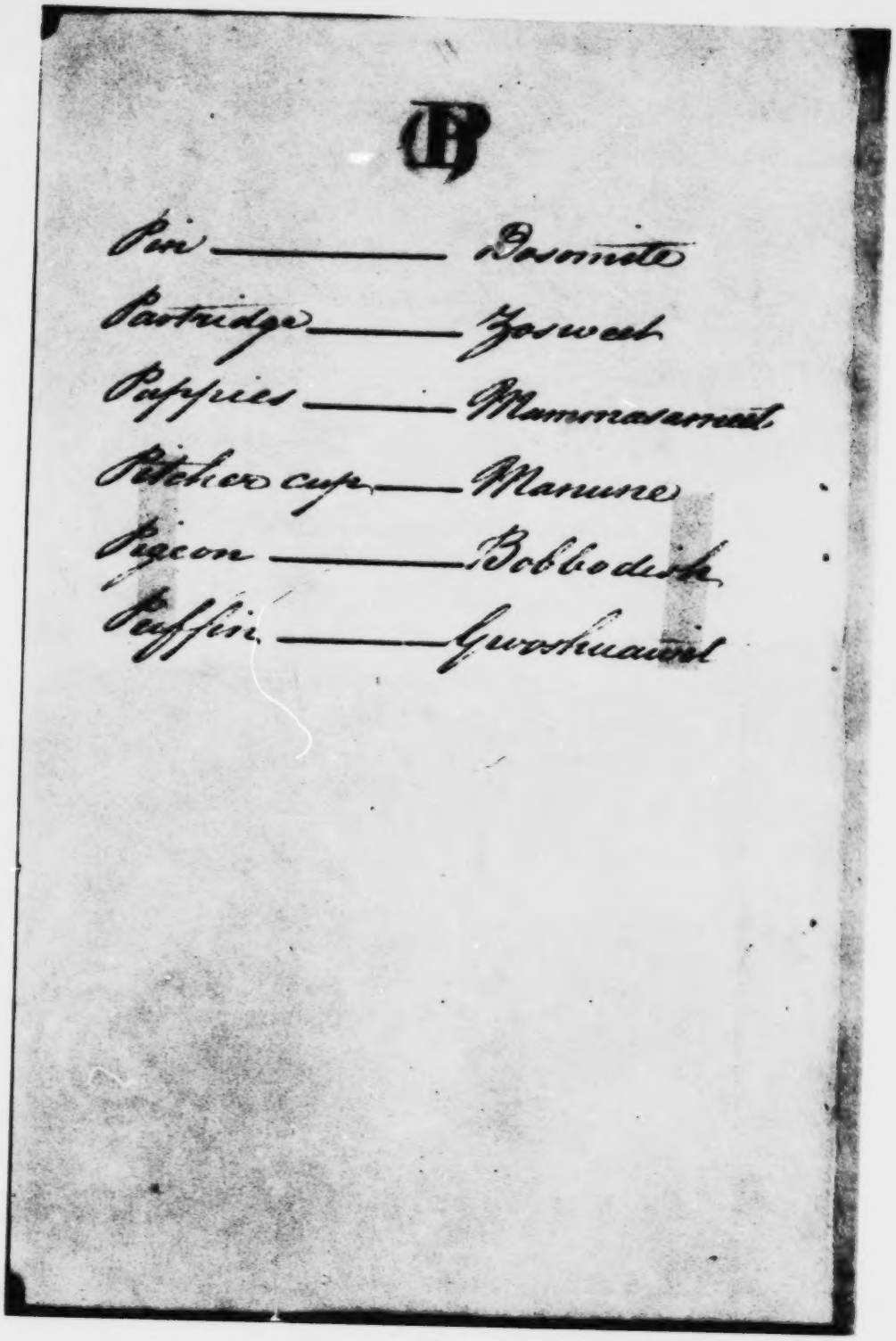
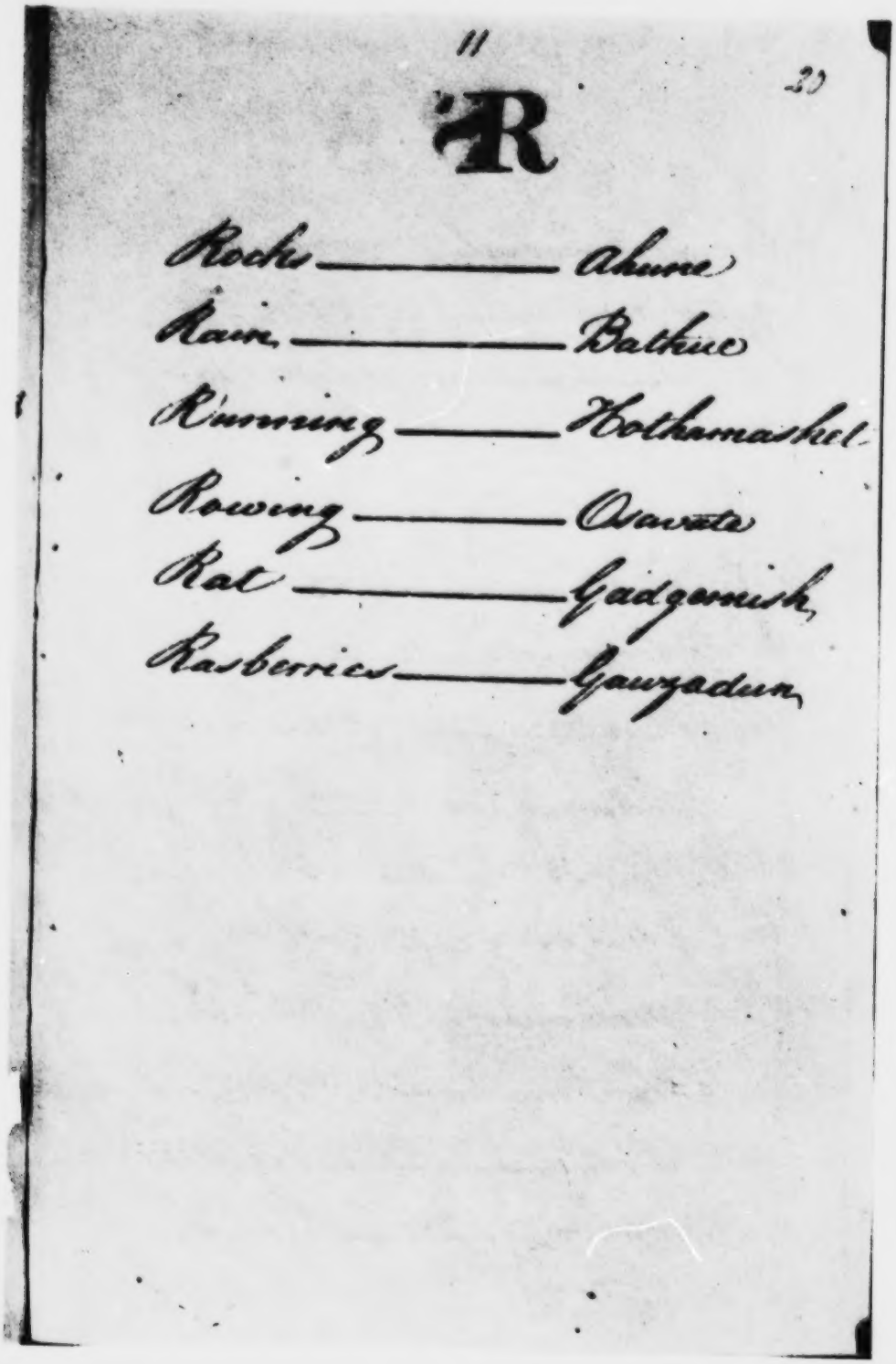

B
Pin _____ Dasonate
Partridge _____ Yaswek
Puffins _____ Mammasemeal
Petticoat cape _____ Manune
Pigeon _____ Bobbodish
Peafowl _____ Gwashuawel

PLATE 44


11

20

R

Rocks _____ Ahuna

Rain _____ Bathuc

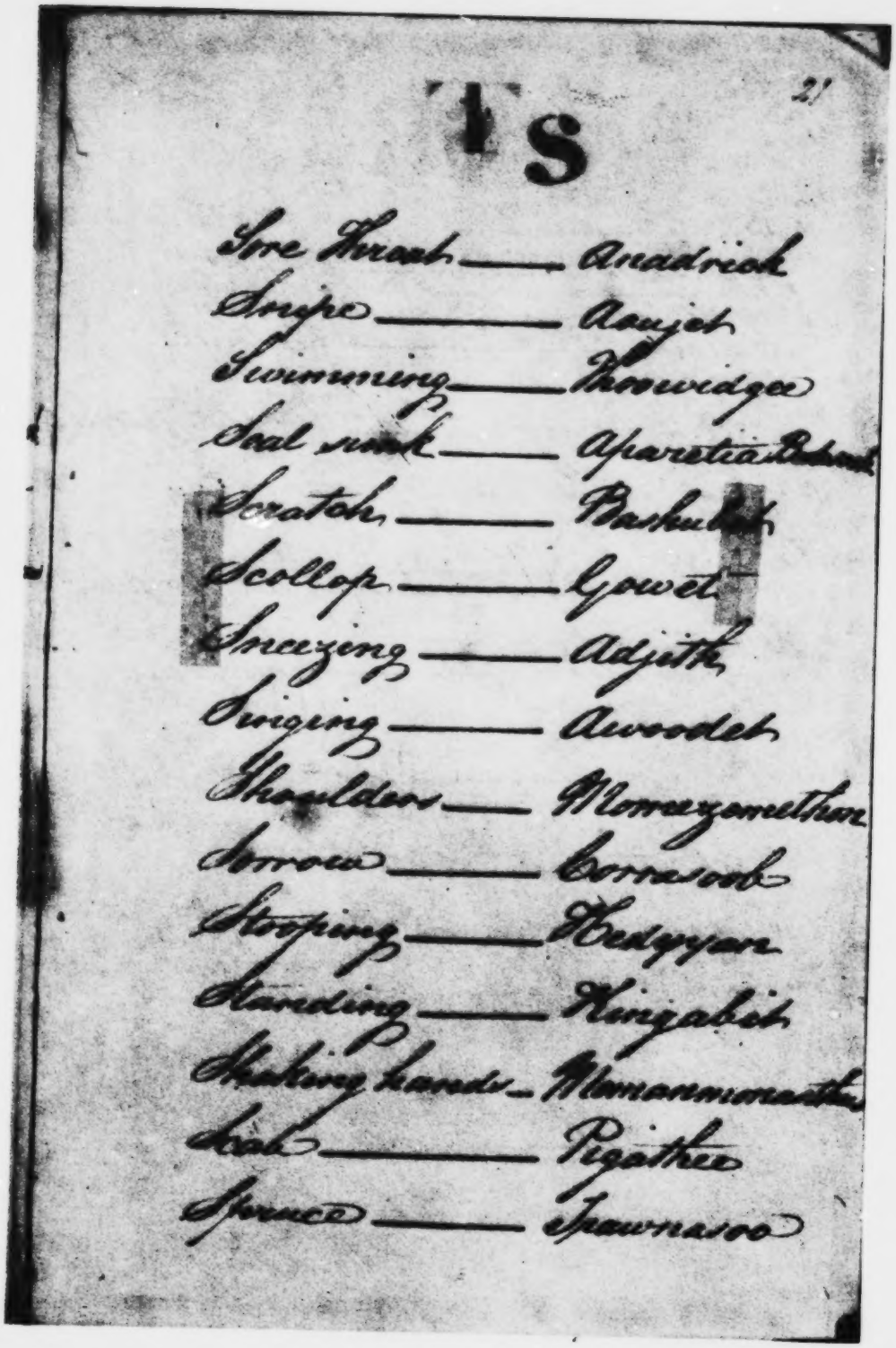
Running _____ Kothamashel

Rowing _____ Ouvate

Rat _____ Gadgemish

Raspberries _____ Gauzadun

PLATE 45



21

S

Sore Throat ____ Anadrick

Snipe ____ Aaujet

Swimming ____ Thowridge

Seal smk ____ Apareticabbed

Scratch ____ Baskubek

Scollop ____ Gowet

Sneezing ____ Adjith

Singing ____ Awoodeh

Shoulder ____ Mowezemethon

Sorrow ____ Corrasook

Stooping ____ Hedgyyan

Standing ____ Kingabish

Shaking hands ____ Mamanmonethe

Soak ____ Pigathee

Spruce ____ Spawnasoo

PLATE 46

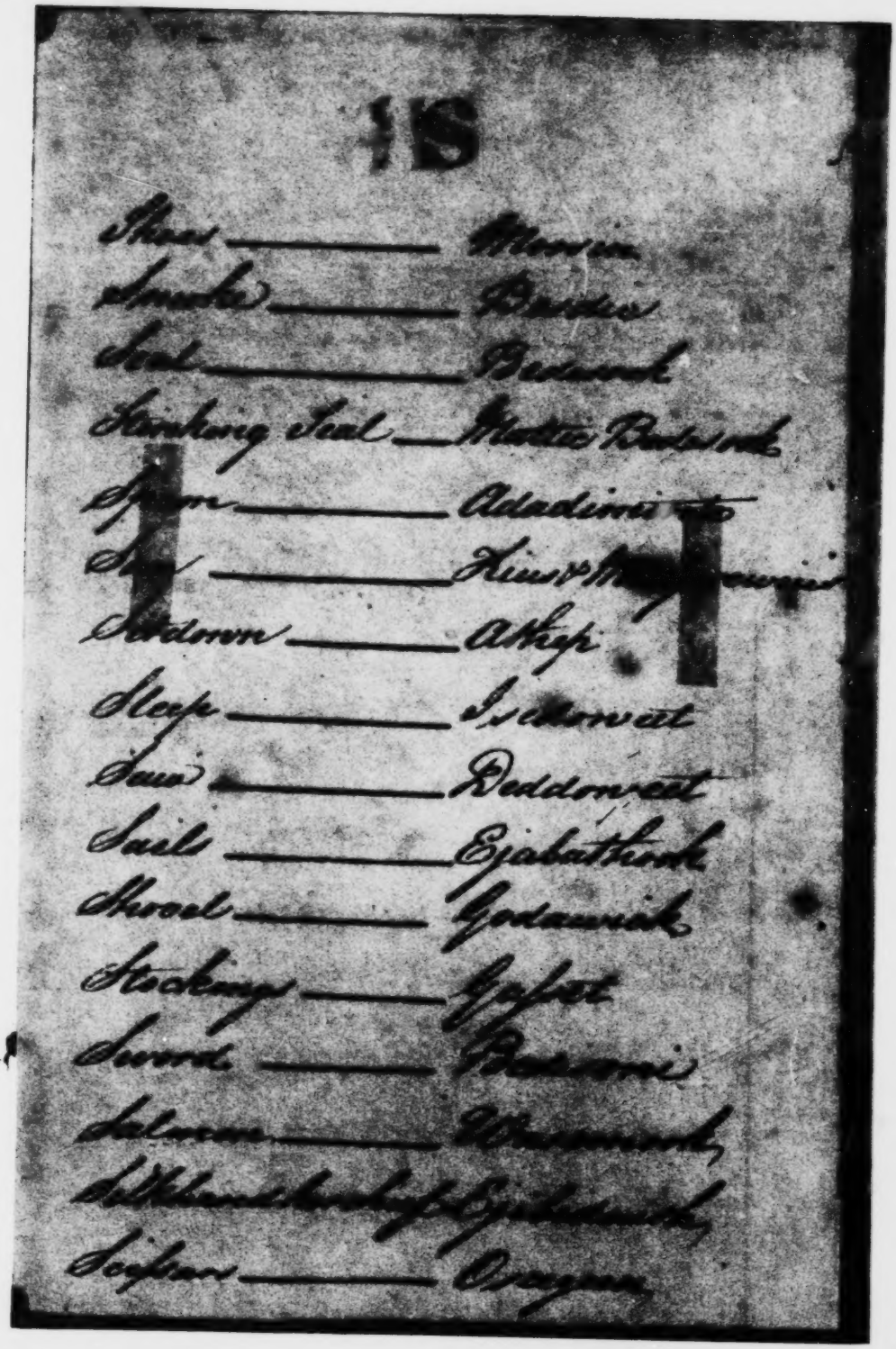


PLATE 47

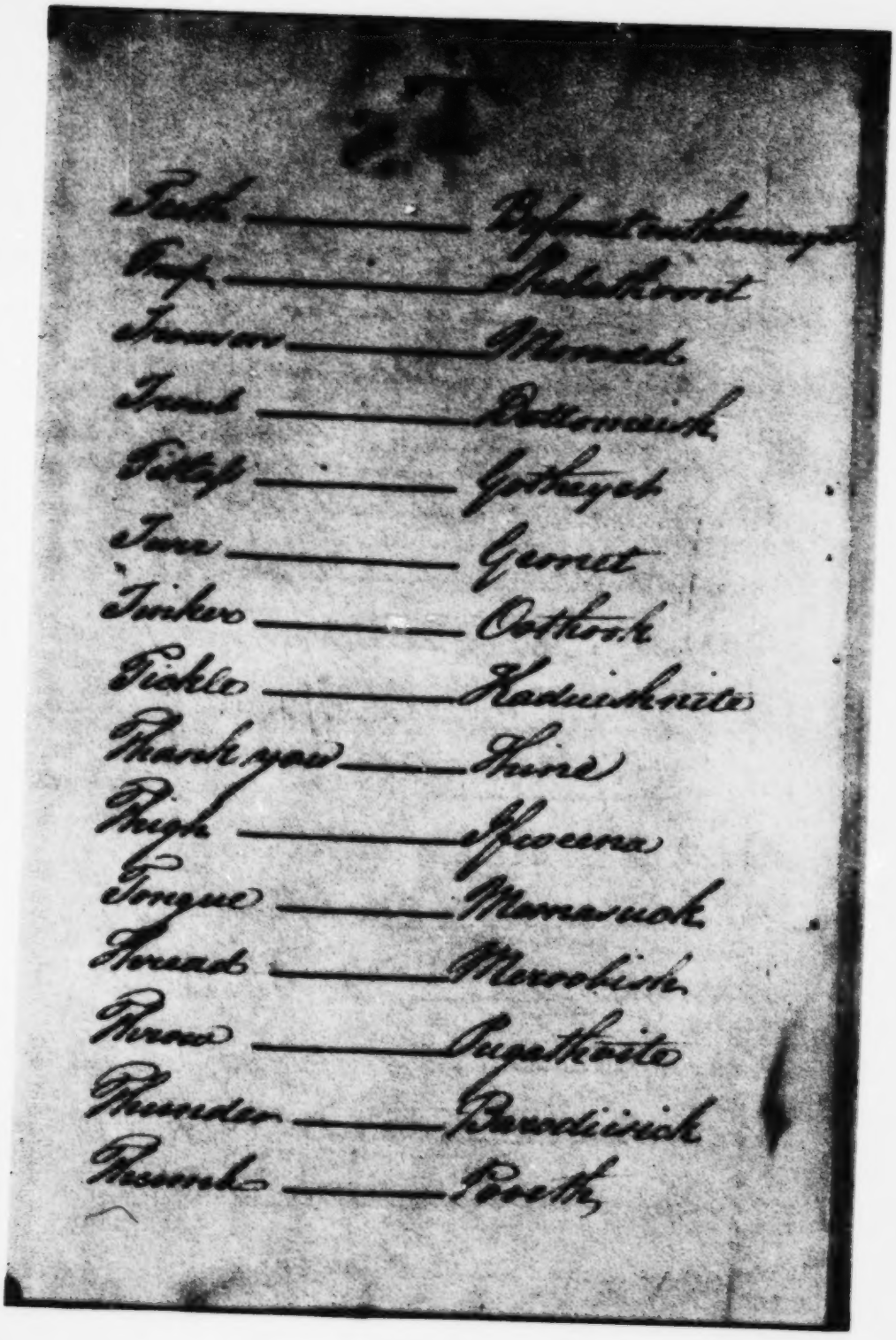
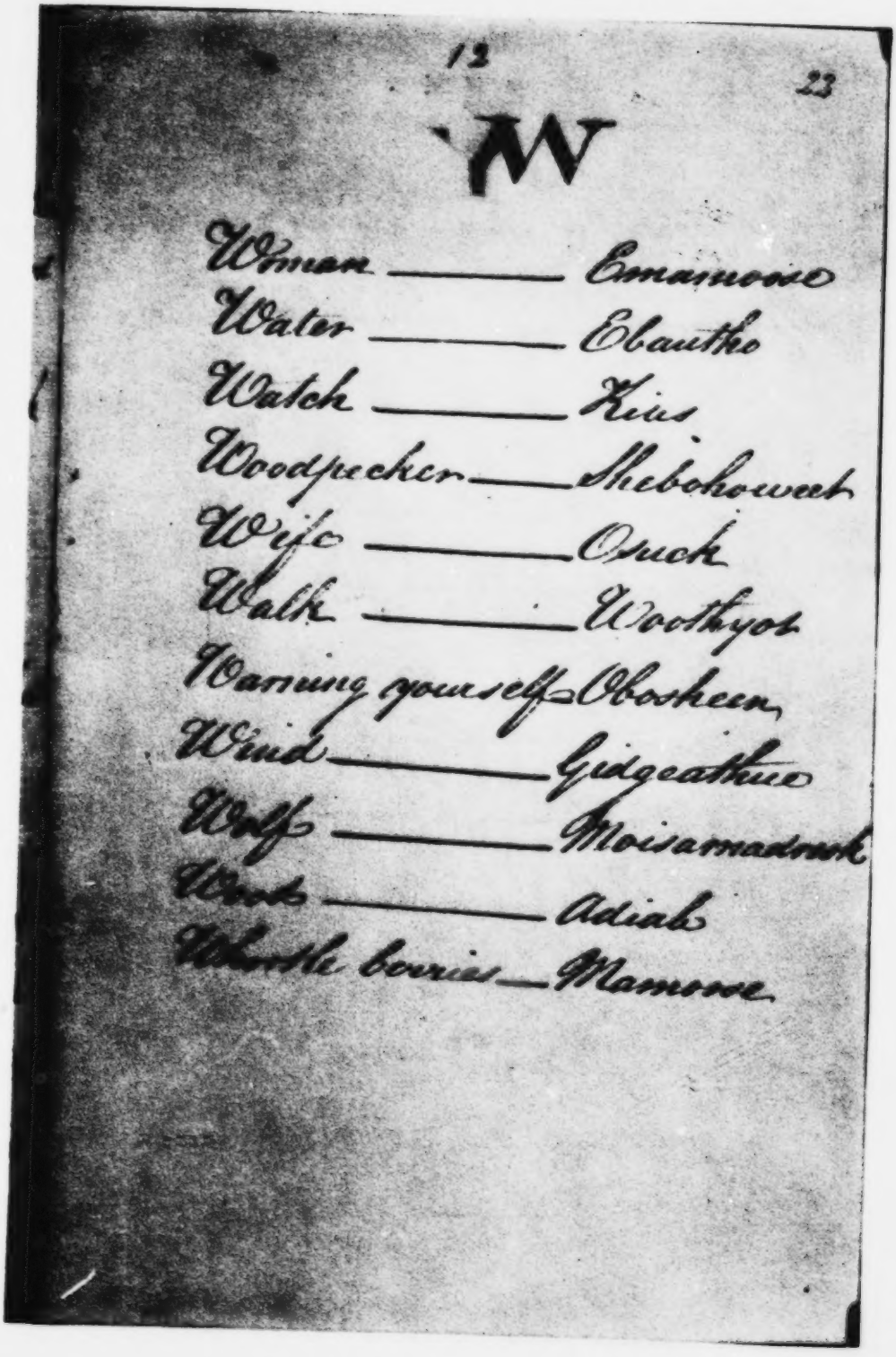


PLATE 48


12 23

W

Woman _____ Emamoose
Water _____ Ebautke
Watch _____ Kius
Woodpecker ___ Shebokowet
Wife _____ Osuck
Walk _____ Woothyot
Warning yourself Oboskeen
Wind _____ Gidgeatkue
Wolf _____ Moisamadmuk
Work _____ Adiab
Whortleberries Mamoose

PLATE 49

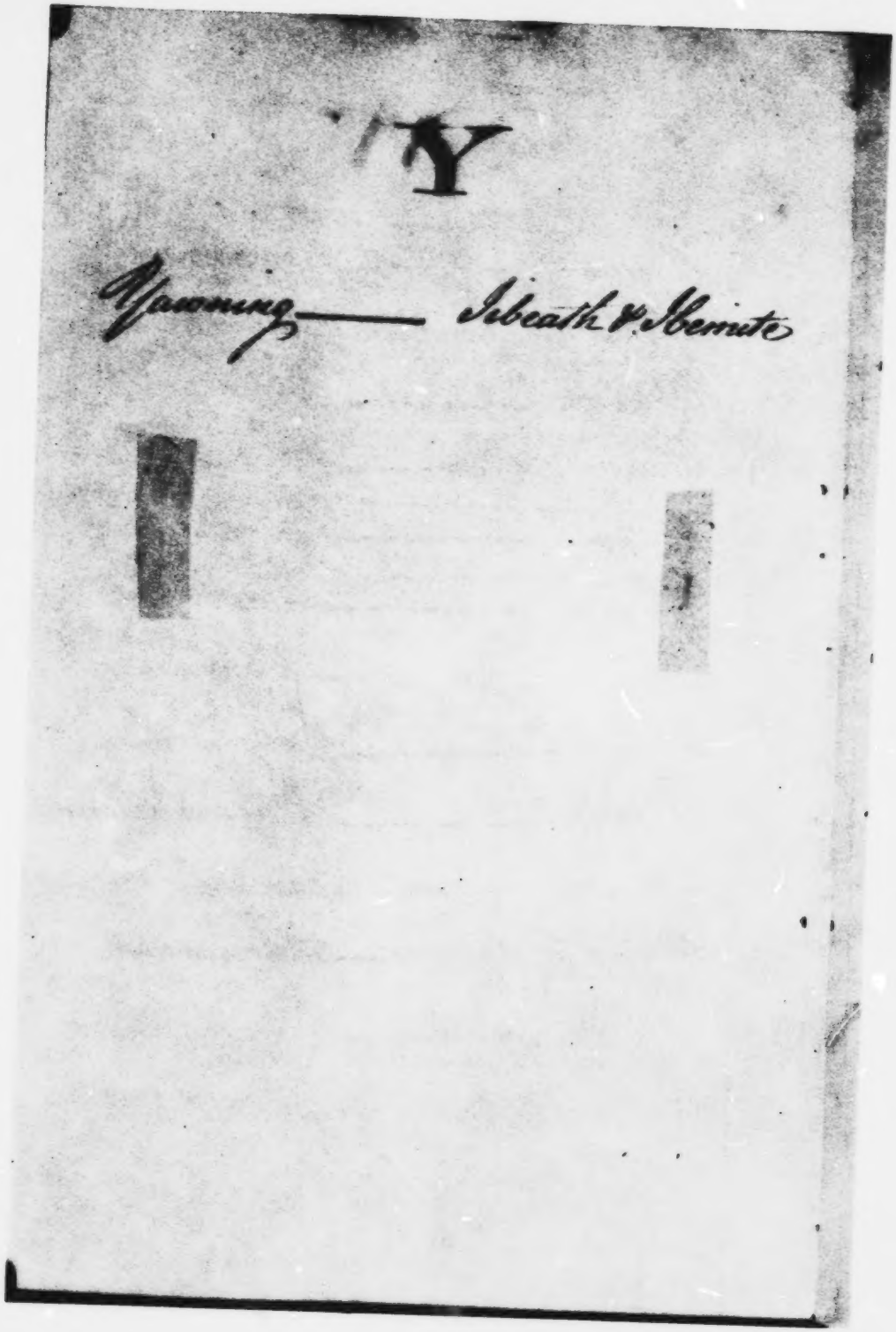
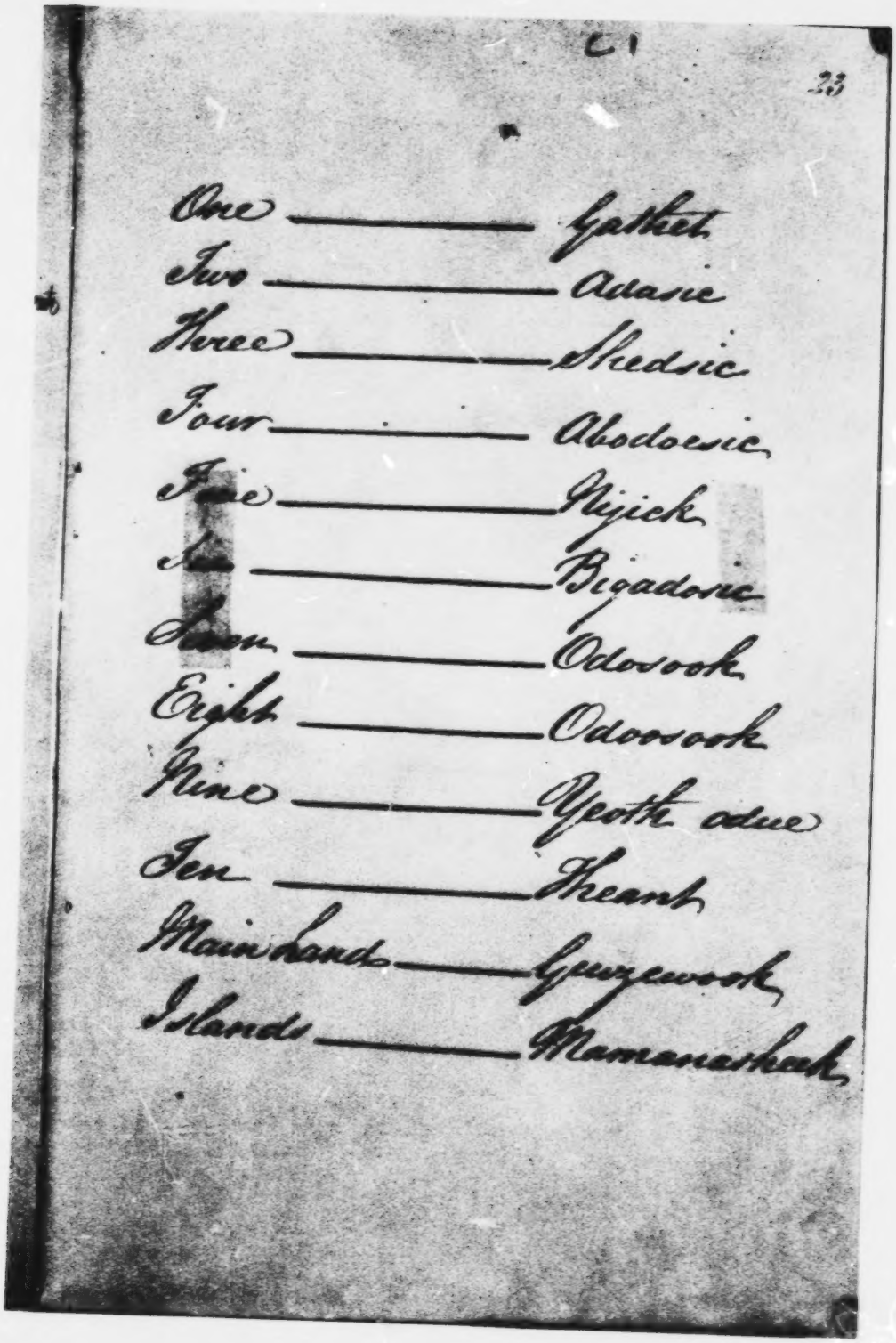


PLATE 50


C1

23

One _____ Gatket

Two _____ Adasie

Three _____ Shedsic

Four _____ Abodoesic

Five _____ Nijick

Six _____ Bigadosic

Seven _____ Odosook

Eight _____ Odosook

Nine _____ Yeotk adue

Ten _____ Theank

Mainland _____ Gyeuzewook

Islands _____ Mamanashank

Chapter 4
The Shanawdithit Vocabularies

The Cormack Vocabularies

W.E. Cormack was born in St. John's of Scottish parents in 1796 and died in British Columbia in 1868. He attended the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, taking a special interest in Mineralogy and Natural History, as may be discerned from the entries in his diary when he made his now famous walk across the Island of Newfoundland in 1822 (Howley 1915:130-168).

In the late summer of 1828, Cormack, who had by that time organized the Beothuk Institute and was its President, arranged for Shanawdithit to be brought to St. John's and to be supported at the expense of the Institute while as much information as possible could be obtained from her. She left Twillingate, according to a letter received by Cormack (Howley, 1915:203) on 16 September 1828. Cormack found that she had a natural talent for drawing, and she succeeded in communicating a great deal of information by pencil sketches on paper, accompanied by a commentary in "broken English and Beothuk words" the meaning of which she managed to convey to those around her. Several of these "picture narratives" have been preserved: the originals are in the Newfoundland Museum, and they were copied by Howley and published in his book with a commentary (1915:238-251). Cormack apparently obtained as well a vocabulary of sorts, but the only direct evidence I have been able to find of any manuscript evidence of this vocabulary consists of certain words added to a copy of the Leigh vocabulary, which is drawn up on four manuscript pages among Gatschet's papers, preserved by the Bureau of American Ethnology for whom Gatschet worked. Comparative evidence indicates that these pages are written in the hand of James P. Howley, and were sent to Gatschet at the time that Gatschet was intently working on the remains of the Beothuk language. Some of the words are culled from Shanawdithit's drawings; others do not appear in any sources known to us. The remaining words, not provided by Cormack, have been copied from Leigh.

Gatschet also told Howley (Howley 1915:300, fn. 1) that he had procured another copy of Cormack's vocabulary from the Rev. S.T. Rand (well known for his Micmac texts and dictionaries). Gatschet continues "it is only another copy or 'recension' of the W.E. Cormack vocabulary". Gatschet called this second version the "Montreal copy" of Cormack. When one compares the glosses from the Montreal copy (in Gatschet's Third Paper) with the citations from Cormack in Gatschet's First Paper, however, it is evident that the former contains a great deal more than the latter. It is possible to deduct the probable reason for this.

The MS that we have from Gatschet's papers in the Bureau of Ethnology (MS 1449:31-34) is, as was pointed out above, apparently written in the hand of James P. Howley. Howley also sent a copy to Sir William Dawson, Principal of McGill University in Montreal, in the hope that Dawson might be able to determine a linguistic relation between Beothuk and other Amerindian languages. Sir William replied to Howley, saying among other things "I sent the vocabulary to Rev. Mr. Rand of Hansport (sic), N.S., who is our best authority on Micmac and Melicite (sic)" (Howley 1915:300). Gatschet by his own admission had acquired his "Montreal copy" from Dr. Rand, and Rand informed Gatschet (Gatschet 1890:7) that the copy had been sent to him by Sir William Dawson (who had himself, of course, acquired it from Howley).

It is no surprise therefore that the "Montreal copy" of Cormack is a very badly garbled version of much the same vocabulary that Gatschet received directly from Howley. In MS 1449 (Howley to Gatschet) there is a footnote (p. 31) indicating which words were obtained from Cormack's manuscript. This footnote may have been left out of the Montreal copy, or

badly copied so that the conclusion could be drawn that the whole vocabulary was Cormack's.

Recopying (Howley to Dawson to Rand to Gatschet) is apparently the cause of very serious garbling. It is remarkable for example, that ipweena thigh, miscopied by Leigh from his own vocabulary as ifweena thumb in the Peyton copy, ends up as stioeena thumb in the Montreal copy.[54] To obtain a realistic view of Cormack's contribution, therefore, we shall totally ignore the so-called Montreal copy and concentrate entirely on the words supplied by Howley directly to Gatschet. In fact about 70% of the some forty items that Howley supplies as being from Cormack are not to be found in the Montreal copy at all: this means that what Gatschet described as the "Montreal copy of Cormack" is basically a garbled copy of the Leigh vocabulary.

The following therefore is a list of the words that Howley attributes to Cormack in MS 1449, and a few words attributed to Cormack in Howley 1915, to which page references have been given.

Listing of the Vocabularies

1	Alive	mamisut
2	Angry	assoyt
3	Ankle	geijebursut; moosin means shoe
4	Arm	wātheek shedbasing watheek upper arm
5	Arrow	ashooging
6	Awake	amet
7	Bad	mudty
8	Bad man	mudeet
9	Bead	baasick
10	Belly	hadabatheek
11	Bird	deyn-yad; deyn-yad-rook birds
12	Bird (little)	obseet (Howley 1915:230)
13	Black	maudzyke
14	Blackbird	woodch
15	Blind	kaesinguinyeet

16	Blood	ashaboouth
17	(To) Blow	deschudodoick
18	Blue	eeshang-eyghth
19	Blunt	boas-seek
20	Blunt-nosed fish	mocothutt
21	Boil, as water	oadjameet
22	Boil (Transitive)	moadamutt
23	Bone	aenameen
24	Bonnet	abodoneek
25	Bosom	bodchmoot
26	Boy (Indian)	mossessdeesh
27	Boy (White)	bukashamesh
28	Bread[55]	maujebathook
29	Breast	bemoot
30	Breath	gaboweete
31	Devil	ashmudyim (Howley 1915:opp. p. 248)
32	Drinking cup	shoewan; shoewanyeesh (dim.) (Howley 1915:opp. p. 248)
33	Eagle	gobidin
34	Get up	amshut[56]
35	Lumpfish	aeshemeet
36	Moon	kuus (Howley 1915:opp. p. 249)
37	Seal skin bag	bochmoot (Howley 1915:opp. p. 246)
38	Ship or vessel	mamzhing[56]
39	Spear	anun
40	Spear (deer)	amina (Howley 1915:opp. p. 248)

41	Spear (seal)	a-aduth (Howley 1915:opp. p. 248)
42	Water bucket	guinyabutt; sun-ong-guin-ya-butt (these are illustrated: Howley 1915:opp. p. 248)
43	Whale's tail	ow-as-posh-no-un (Howley: 1915:opp. p. 249)
44	Woodpecker	sheebuint

This vocabulary is noticeably lopsided: 70% of the English glosses begin with either A or B. Two conclusions are possible: either (1) the vocabulary is incomplete, the rest being misplaced or lost, or (2) Cormack started, with an English word list, to elicit Beothuk terms from Shanawdithit and never completed the project.

Howley also quotes the following list of numerals and the names of the months as being from Cormack.

One	yaseek	Eleven	ee-yaziech
Two	adzeich	Twelve	ee-adzike
Three	shendeek	Thirteen	ee-shendeek
Four	dabseek	Fourteen	ee-dabzook
Five	ninezeek	Fifteen	ee-ninezeek
Six	bashedtheek	Sixteen	ee-beshedtheek
Seven	oodzook	Seventeen	ee-oodzook
Eight	aadazook	Eighteen	ee-aadazook
Nine	yeothoduk	Nineteen	ee-yeothoduck
Ten	shansee	Twenty	adzeich-dthoonut
		Thirty	shendeek-dthoonut

November	godabonyeesh
December	odasweet-eeshamut
January	cobshun-eesamut
February	kosthabonong-bewajowite
March	manamiss
April	wasumaweeseek

May	bedejamish bewajowite
June	wasumaweeseek
July	cowazaseek
August	wadawegh
September	wasumaweeseek
October	godabonyegh

The King Vocabularies

The earliest known comment by a linguist about the Beothuk language dates from 1850 when Robert Gordon Latham mentions "a hitherto unpublished Beothuk vocabulary with which I have been kindly furnished by my friend Dr. King of the Anthropological Society. This makes them a separate section of the Algonkins, and such I believe them to have been." (Latham 1850:300)

Latham (1812-1888) had been Professor of English Language and Literature at University College, London, since 1839. He was the most distinguished British scholar in the field of Comparative Linguistics in the nineteenth century, but fell somewhat into obscurity because his theoretical viewpoint differed from the linguistic views which were fashionable in his day. (He held that the Indo-European languages had their ancient home in Europe, while Bopp, Grimm, Mueller, the "establishment" in Comparative Linguistics, believed that it was in Asia. They were scornful of Latham's views; today, however, most scholars would agree that they were wrong and Latham was right). Recently, however, Latham's memory was resurrected when Randolph Quirk, one of the most outstanding of present British specialists in English Language and Linguistics, was appointed Professor of English Language at University College: Quirk devoted a large part of his Inaugural Address (reprinted in Strevens 1966) to a biographical sketch and an appreciative evaluation of the work of his distinguished predecessor at the College.

Latham was interested in the languages of the world, and, for a nineteenth century scholar, amassed a truly incredible amount of linguistic information from all over the globe: he was a known collector of vocabularies. His friend Dr. Richard King (1811-1876) was also a well known figure. He had gone in 1833 on the Great Fish River Expedition in search of Captain Ross's expedition (serving as Surgeon and Naturalist) and in 1836 published his Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Arctic Ocean. Having subsequently spent two years with the Eskimo he was instrumental in 1837 in the founding of the Aborigine's Protection Socicty, and in 1842 of the Ethnological Society, of which he was made secretary. It was this organization which grew into the Royal Anthropological Institute, as it is called today.

There are questions that arise concerning this vocabulary: how did the vocabulary come into King's possession, and what was its original provenance: who was the Beothuk informant? Only the latter of these questions is answerable: there are Beothuk personal names mentioned which indicate that the informant was Shanawdithit. There is no indication, however, of how the vocabulary came to be in King's possession.

Nevertheless, certain deductions can be made. The MSS that we possess of the King

vocabulary are both in the hand of Latham. One is the copy that Latham says he sent to Gatschet, the other is a copy sent to the Bureau of American Ethnology (both are preserved in the Archives of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington).[57] Physically, there are two sections to each MS, one giving glosses in random alphabetical order, the other giving them under alphabetical headings (although the alphabetization is far from consistent). Some items occur in both sections, but are obviously not repetitions. Fire is given, for example, as oodrat in the first part and as boobeeshawt in the second part, and come is given as toouet in the first part, but as deiood in the second part. Further examination reveals that the first part contains about seventy items from Leigh, since it contains such items as ticklace (spelled tiklas), turr (spelled fur), silk handkerchief, deer's horns, Indian cup, cream jug, gimlet, wild cat, domestic cat, stinking seal, a collection of exotica that could not appear in two different vocabularies by purely random chance. The second part, on the other hand, has nothing obviously copied from previous vocabularies, especially since items that are repeated appear quite differently: abodonec bonnet, in Leigh, abadungeyk hat (English), in King. We may conclude that the first part of King is largely copied, and that the second part is an original vocabulary from Shanawdithit, collected perhaps by Cormack, perhaps by someone else. The numerals given in the King vocabulary certainly resemble those collected by Cormack, but the two sets are not identical, and even if they were, this would be insufficient evidence to attribute the whole vocabulary to Cormack. But Gatschet comments (1886:415): "For several reasons it is surmised that Mr. W.E. Cormack took from Shanandithit (sic) a much more extensive list of vocables than the one I have obtained through Mr. Howley, which contains only the Beothuk numerals, month names and terms corresponding to English words with initial A and B. Researches made in England and on (sic) Newfoundland failed to reveal any trace of an ampler collection".

Cormack had friends and connections in Britian, however, such as Professor Jameson from the University of Edinburgh. Howley records (1915:230) some stray notes in Cormack's handwriting, which include the following comment: "The vocabulary of the Red Indians is (I think) in Dr. Yates possession . . ." This may be Joseph Brooks Yates, a noted British antiquarian, who may have passed Cormack's vocabularies on to King.[58] Although King journeyed extensively in the Canadian Arctic, it does not appear that he at any time visited Newfoundland or had any direct contact with Cormack or others in St. John's, and it is probable therefore that he received it through an intermediary. It is possible, therefore, that the King vocabulary is a copy of vocabularies made by Cormack from Shanawdithit, with words added from some copy of the Leigh vocabulary.

The evidence that the informant is Shanawdithit is on the last page of the vocabulary, where there is an attempt to collect a variety of expressions that might be useful in making a peaceful approach to the Indians: "Don't be afraid", "Not hurt you", and so forth. Although this section has been incredibly garbled in copying, we can discern references to (1) Shanawdithit (2) Doodebewshet, Shanawdithit's mother. (It also appears that Moo-meshduck, which Gatschet interpreted as part of the gloss for we (?) give thee a knife is in reality the name of Shanawdithit's grandfather, since it appears to correspond to the English gloss Doodebewshet's father: wawashemet o-owin is quite sufficient, in a language of this kind, to express we give thee a knife – see the last page of MS 881 and page 36 of MS 1449, and compare with Gatschet's entry under waweshemet in his First Paper).

In the lists that follow, therefore, we have ignored the items that are clearly a repetition of items from Leigh, and we have listed only those entries that are distinctive to the King vocabulary. The following symbols are used:

K1 = first part of MS 881
K2 = first part of MS 1449
K3 = second part of MS 881
K4 = second part of MS 1449
A = column one
B = column two
C = column three
D = column four
E = column five

(K1A1, therefore, is item one, column one, of the first part of MS 881). To avoid unnecessary repetition, full references have been given only for MS 881; since the layout of the two MSS is essentially the same, reference to the first will suffice as a reference to the second.

Listing of the Vocabularies

1	Afraid	K3.	cockaboset <u>don't be afraid</u>
2	Alive	K3, K4.	mamaseet
3	Arm	K3, K4.	watheekee
4	Arrow	K1C4, K2.	ashooging
5	Baby	K1A6, K2.	messiligethook
6	Bad_1	K1E15. K3, K4.	maudee muddy
7	Bad_2	K1D27, K2	madich
8	Bat	K3, K4.	so-sheet
9	Bear	K1B1, K2 K3.	washawet; whashwitt
10	Beaver	K2A35, K2.	maumshet
11	(Go to) bed	K3. K4.	boochauwhit; boochauwhat
12	Berries	K1B22, K2.	manus
13	Birch tree	K1D14, K2.	by-yeech
14	Black	K1D29, K2. K3.	mamdsei; mandzey

15	Blankets	K1C27, K2.	manaboret
16	Boat	K1B7, K2.	adolthtek
17	(Large) boat	K1C13, K2.	dhoorado
18	Bonnet, hat	K3, K4.	abadungeyk
19	Bosom	K1A8, K2.	boghmoot (K2. woman's)
20	Bow	K1C5, K2.	anyemen
21	Boy (white)	K1A2, K2.	buggishamesh
22	Boy (Indian)	K3. K4.	mogazeesh; mozazeosh
23	Bread	K1D21, K2.	annawhadya
24	Bushes	K3. K4.	maudeweech; maudweech
25	Cap	K3, K4.	eeseeboon
26	Caplin	K1C25. K2. K3, K4.	thamook; shamook; shaamoo
27	Cheek	K1D17, K2.	weenoun
28	Cockle	K3, K4.	sheedeneesheet
29	Cold	K1D35. K3, K4.	enodsha; eenodja
30	Come	K1E26, K2. K3.	toouet; deiood
31	Come back again	K3.	nadyed
32	Come hither	K1B19, K2.	dyoom
33	Dead, death	K1D12, K2, K3, K4.	gosset
34	Dead	K1E27, K2.	gausep
35	Devil	K1E8, K2.	haoot
36	Drink	K1E12, K2. K3, K4.	ebathook; ebathoot

37	Dry	K1E18. K2.	yasook; gasook
38	Duck	K1C20, K2.	eesheet
39	Eat	K1C38. K3. K4.	bocootyone; pokoodsont; pokoodoont
40	Eskimo	K3, K4.	ashwan
41	Fat	K3, K4.	eeg
42	Fear	K3, K4.	geswat
43	Finger	K1D19, K2.	hanyees
44	Fire	K1A23, K2. K3, K4.	oodrat; boobeeshawt
45	Fish hook	K1B10, K2.	adooch
46	Flesh (meat)	K1D23, K2.	ashauch
47	Foot	K1D18, K2.	adyouth
48	Forehead	K1A16, K2.	doothun
49	Fox	K1C23, K2.	dogajavick
50	Girl	K3. K4.	woaseesh; woaseeach
51	Give me	K1E10. K2.	dayhamin; dayhemin
52	(We) give you a knife	K3, K4.	wawashemet oowin
53	Go away	K3.	gayzhoot
54	Go home	K3, K4.	baetha
55	Go out	K3, K4.	baeodut
56	$Good_1$	K1E14. K2.	homedick; homedich
57	$Good_2$	K1D24, K2.	oomdzech
58	Grindstone	K1B27, K2.	shewthake
59	Halibut, flatfish	K3, K4.	hanawasutt

60	Hammer	K1B23, K2.	iwish
61	Hatchet	K1B11, K2. K3, K4.	thinyun; dthoonanyen
62	Hear	K1D36, K2.	noduera
63	Heaven	K1E3, K2.	theehone
64	Hill	K1D15, K2. K1E23, K2.	kaasook; keoosock
65	House, wigwam	K1A22, K2.	maeadthike
66	(Am) hungry	K3, K4.	dauoosett
67	(Not) hurt	K3.	aoodrach
68	Hut (see house)	K1D32, K2. K3, K4.	meothick; meotick
69	Kill	K1E25, K2. K3, K4.	whadicheme; bogathoowytch
70	(Not) kill	K3, K4.	datyuns
71	Lamp	K1B30, K2.	mondicuet
72	Lean (thin, sick)	K3, K4.	ashei
73	Life	K1D11, K2.	mamset
74	(I) like	K1E11, K2.	ajeedisk
75	Long	K1D25, K2.	kannabuck
76	Make haste	K3, K4.	eeshoo
77	Man (Red Indian)	K3. K4.	shawdtharut; shawatharott
78	Micmac	K3, K4.	shanung
79	Milk	K1D22, K2, K3, K4.	madabooch
80	Moccasin	K1A21, K2. K3, K4.	moosin; mosen
81	Money	K1B18.	beodet
82	Mouth	K1A12, K2.	mamudthun

83	Muscle (mussel?)	K3. K4.	owameet
84	Necklace	K1B24, K2.	zeek
85	No	K1E9. K2, K3, K4.	nevim; newin
86	Otter	K1B2, K2.	edachoom
87	Pond	K3, K4.	woodum
88	Rain	K1D33, K2.	watshoosooch
89	Red	K1D30, K2.	deedrashow
90	River	K1E24, K2. K3, K4.	shebon; sheebin brook
91	Run	K1E2, K2.	ibadinnam
92	Salt water	K1D31. K2.	masoock; massooch
93	See	K1D37, K2.	ejew
94	Shake hands	K3, K4.	kawinjemeesh
95	Ship	K1C11, K2.	mamashee
96	Shoot	K3. K4.	wadshoodet; wadshoodiet
97	Short	K1D26, K2.	yeech
98	Shovel	K1B28, K2.	hadowadet
99	Sinew (of deer)	K3, K4.	modthamook
100	Sleep	K1B21, K2.	bootzhawet
101	(I am) sleepy	K3, K4.	aoseedwit
102	Sleeve	K3, K4.	wobesheet
103	Smell	K1E1, K2.	marot
104	Snail	K3, K4.	ae-u-eece
105	Snow	K1E20, K2. K3. K4.	causasbow; kaasussabook; kaasusabook

106	Song (?)	K3, K4.	mamatrabet
107	Soon	K3.	jewmetcheen;
		K4.	jewmetchem
108	Speak	K1E13, K2.	carmtack;
		K3, K4.	jeroothack
109	Spider	K3, K4.	woadthoowin
110	Spouse	K3, K4.	anwoyding
111	Star	K1E5, K2.	shawwayet
112	Stones	K1E22, K2.	oun
113	Sugar	K1C31.	shedothun;
		K2.	shedothoon
114	Sun, moon	K1E6, K1E7, K2.	keeose;
		K3, K4.	keuse;
		K3.	mageragueis;
		K4.	magaraguis son;
		K3, K4.	washageuis moon
115	Tea	K3, K4.	butterweye
116	Thumb	K1D20, K2.	boad
117	Tobacco	K1E11, K2.	nechwa
118	Tomorrow	K3.	maduch;
		K4.	maduck
119	Tongue	K3.	mamadthut;
		K4.	mamudthuk
120	Trap	K1B29, K2.	lathun
121	Tree, woods	K1C10, K2, K3.	annooee
122	Trousers	K1C28, K2.	mowead
123	Twine	K1C6.	ardobeeshe;
		K2.	madobeesh
124	Warm	K1D34, K2.	boobasha
125	Watch	K1B15.	ewis;
		K2.	kewis;
		K3, K4.	keeose

126	Water	K1E16. K2.	ebadse; ebadoe
127	Water (drink)	K1A25, K2.	zebathoong
128	Wet (confusion for white)	K1E19, K2.	wabee
129	Where do you go?	K1D13, K2.	becket
130	Wife (white)	K1A4, K2.	adizabadzea
131	White	K1D28, K2, K3, K4.	wobee
132	Woman (Red Indian)	K3, K4.	woass-sut
133	Yes	K1E9, K2. K3, K4.	ethath; yeathun

Numerals (K1D1-10, K2.)

One	yazeek	Six	beshed
Two	adzeech	Seven	odeozook
Three	shendee	Eight	adosook
Four	dabzeek	Nine	yeothoduck
Five	nunyetheek	Ten	shansee

Notes on the Vocabulary

1 Item 26 shows how easily capital S and capital T could be mistaken in the handwriting of the time. The evidence from Leigh indicates that the original is the form with s and that thamook is a miscopying.

2 Item 37 shows another common confusion, that of y, g and z; the similarity of formation of these letters has led to much confusion in copying and interpreting the vocabularies.

3 Gatschet interprets item 53 as part of mamishet alive (see his listings under mamishet in the First Paper), but the evidence from K3 indicates that gayzhoot is the gloss for go away.

4 It is possible that items 56 and 57 are simply two different versions of the same word: there is evidence elsewhere in the vocabularies (e.g., hannan spear (Clinch); anun spear (Cormack)) that initial h is to be ignored as irrelevant (i.e., non-distinctive in Beothuk).

5 The two glosses in item 61, when compared to Leigh's thingaya hatchet (found only in the Robinson copy, since this page is torn out of SPG and this item was never copied

into the Peyton version) indicate that the form given in K1 and K2 was copied from Leigh (necessarily via the Robinson copy, which was published in 1834, twelve years before 1846, the year when Latham received the King vocabulary). The form in K3 and K4, being spelled so differently (cf. abodonec bonnet (Leigh); abadungeyk hat (English) (King)), on the other hand, would indicate that this item was recorded separately. This item shows again that the King vocabulary is in fact two quite separate vocabularies, and gives us evidence that the items from Leigh, in the first part of the vocabulary, are copied from Robinson. The randomness of these copied elements (only a third of the total Leigh vocabulary) is a mystery, however.

6 It is not impossible that the two glosses given for item 108 were originally spelled identically. Unfortunately there is nothing elsewhere in the vocabularies to indicate what the word might be in its original spelling.

7 In both K3 and K4 Latham has entered a note opposite tea (item 115), indicating that what appears to be a Beothuk gloss may be at least partially English. It is not possible to determine whether he did this on evidence from the original vocabulary, or whether this was his own idea.

8 It is to be expected that the two glosses for twine (item 123) are two different versions of a single spelling. In this case the evidence of the Clinch and Leigh vocabularies (meroopish, meroobish) indicates positively that madobeesh is the original spelling of the King vocabulary and that ardobeeshe is a garbled version of this. (It must not be forgotten that when Latham wrote both these words he was copying the same original).

The Jure Vocabularies

Howley mentions (1915:vi) the "widow Jure[59] of Exploits Island, who also resided in Peyton's house at the same time as Nancy,[60] was a valuable informant. She . . . having acquired some knowledge of their language, was able to pronounce faultlessly several words for me, which gave a clue to its phonetics which could not be otherwise obtained".

Howley met Mrs. Jure "at Exploits, Burnt Island, in 1886". She told him that she "had learned some of the Beothuck language from Nancy who used to compliment her on her pronunciation. Unfortunately she had now forgotten nearly all of it. But on my producing a vocabulary of the language and reading it over for her she remembered several words and pronounced them for me. She also corrected some words which were misspelt, etc." (Howley 1915:182). Howley obtained twenty-three words from Mrs. Jure, according to Gatschet (1890:7) but Gatschet marks only 20 words in the vocabulary he gives as being from Mrs. Jure. There is evidence that widdun asleep (see Howley 1915:182) is also from Mrs. Jure, giving a total of 21 words now identifiable from this source:

Listing of the Vocabularies

1	Asleep, dead	widdun (widun or widan)
2	Boy	buggishamish
3	Cat	obodish; obbodish

4	Deer	osweet (oswit)
5	Dog	mammasamit
6	Finger, index	onnus (ones) forefinger
7	Finger, little	oddesamick (odesamik)
8	Finger, middle	ahwadgebick; awadgebick (awadshibik)
9	Finger, ring	wyabick (wayabik)
10	Fowl	ejeedoweshin; edgedoweshin (edshidoweshin)
11	Get up	kinnup; kinup
12	Girl	eemommooset; immomooset (imamuset)
13	Hair	drummet (drum't)
14	(Make) haste	is-shu; izhu; ishu (izhu)
15	Iron	mowgeenuck; mougenuck (maudshinuk)
16	Knife	eewoin; ewoin (iwo-in)
17	Man	buggishaman
18	Sea pigeon	bobodish
19	Thumb	boo-it; buit (buit)
20	(To) walk	baysot; bazot; besot; besut
21	Woman	eemomoos; immawmoose (imamus)

Notes on the Vocabulary

1 Hyphens have only been copied from the original when necessary to disambiguate the spelling.

2 Gatschet tells us (1890:7) that Howley repeated Mrs. Jure's pronunciation "to his brother, Rev. Dr. M.F. Howley, P.A.,[61] and I received a second copy of the list written by that gentleman, having the words accentuated. This enabled me to add in parentheses their true pronunciation and wording in my scientific alphabet". Gatschet's pompous term for a crude phonetic transcription does not hide the fact, however, that three speakers of English (Mrs. Jure and the brothers Howley) and a written version (Howley to Gatschet) intervene between Shanawdithit's original words and his "scientific" account of their "true pronunciation". The accent marks add little, since we do not know how to interpret them (vowel stress?length?) and they have been left out of the version printed here. The forms in brackets in the above vocabulary are clearly Gatschet's "phonetic" transcriptions.

3 Alongside the gloss for dog is the comment "(Mammasavit is incorrect)". This indicates that Howley read out to Mrs. Jure the erroneous Lloyd-Hatton and Harvey version of the Leigh vocabulary, and that Mrs. Jure corrected the error from memory. Her correction is vindicated by the Robinson copy of Leigh which clearly shows an m in this word.

Beothuc Vocabulary 31

English	Beothuc	English	Beothuc
Alive	* mām-isiill	Blow the Nose	Shegamik
angry	ass-soyt	Blow (to blow)	* Dawiku-do-loick
Ankle	* moosun dgei-je-hunut	Birch bark	Boyish
Awake	* Amet-	Body	Hadobothie
Arm	* wāltheek	Clothes	Jhengyam
Arm (upper part)	Shēd-ba-sing-wathuk	Codfish	Bobbowoiet
Arrow	* Ash-wog-ing	Callte (Chimney hook)	Nelthakete
Anus	* Hāmaget	Cat (marten)	Adidish
Arrow	Bogemat	Cat (domestic)	Abdeeshook
Bad (dirty)	* Mud-ty	Canoe	Dapalthook
Boy (Indian boy)	* Mess-ess-dāsh	Cream	Mollthuget
Boy (Black boy)	* Būkāshāmāsh	Cone (Pine)	Floorel
Bed mat	* Mūd-eit	Candle	Shebolth
Breast	Bogomet	Capelin	Shamodh
Breast	* Bemoot	Cap	Mathcodue
Bosom	* Bodeh-mūot	Chief	Mordemun
Breath	* Gah-o-weete?	Chin	Joun
Bonnet	Abordmuck	Child	Ommāmoosēt
Bail (to bail)	* Cad-ja-meet	Cut-	Odeshuik
Boil (to boil down)	* Mosad-a-mūlt	Comet	Aun
Beaver	Mamishet	Clouds	Barrick
Boat a vessel	addthe Ode-o-thye	Deer	Osweet
Bullons a money	Agamet	Deerhorns	Magorum
Bone	Aam-a-mam	Dog	Mūgumāsawat a māmmūt
Berries	Bibdigemidie	Drawing	Mocoodel-
Blanket	Mamoovoit	Dogwood	Cuoethuk
Blind	* Kae-sing-quinget	Duck	Boodowit
Bear	Quashuwet	Duck & drakes	Mamishit
Black	* Maud gyke	Dancing	Badioot
Blood	Gyrobauth	Eye	Guinya
Boat	Bukaskawik	Egg	Debuie
Belt	Bōshodik	Eat-	Odoit

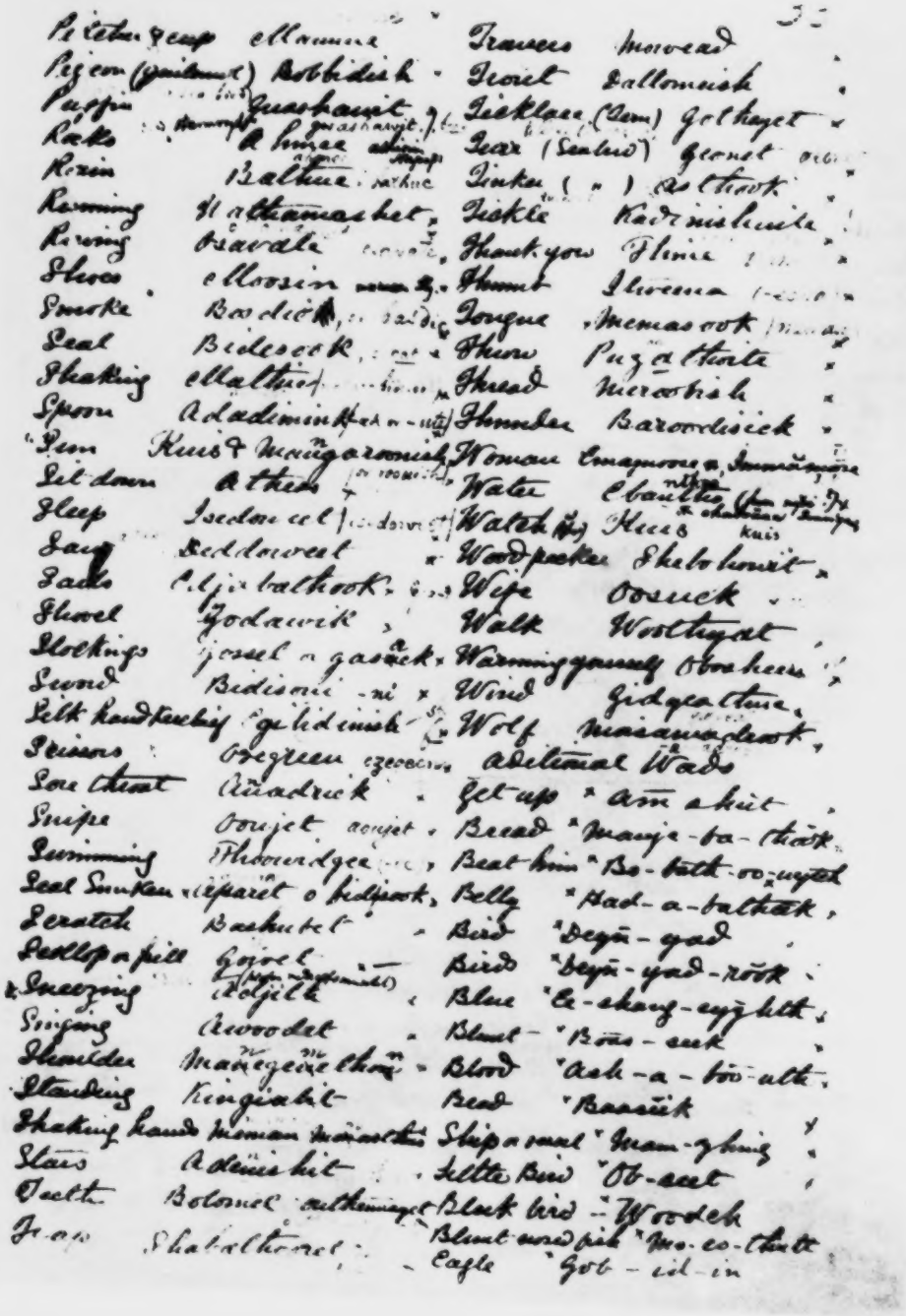
* Those un words obtained from W.C. Cormack

mamu-wigi-

PLATE 52

Eyebrow	Mameuk	Ice	Oscen
Elbow	Mowens	Indean (Red)	Bealhook
Ear	Mosshaman	Indean cup	Shuttodimil-
Fire	Woodsuet	Iron	Mowwegesmelt
Fishhook	Odothook	Islands	Mammasseek
Feathers	Abothdrees	Knife	Mine
Fall	Kishel	Knee	Godamis hil
Fork	Elkenwil-	Kneeling	Acusthibit
Fishing line	Edat	Kiss	Widumita
Flying	Elleasth	Lobster	(Adjelt)
Girl	Emamuset	Lamp	Bothdrushemet
Glove	Obedeek	Ladybird (or harlequin duck)	Mammadeuit
Gun	Adamadeul-	Leg	Aduse
Flaw	Badibiet	Lead	Gooshebeu-
Goat	Cuans	Lip	Ooiah
Gull	Aesson	Lie down	Bilmwait
Gimlet	Quadramuck	Louse	Kusctcet
Grindstone	Agyalthoret	Man	Bukaah mamen
Gunpowder	Baasolthuit	Mouth	Mamis hook
Goose	Odausuok	Moon	Kius Washamish
Good night	Bethcok	Muquito	Shema-bogesthue
Get up	Yamyes	Nose	Gim
Gaping	Hemiak	Net	Giggeramanet
Groaning	Cheachit	Necklace	Bolhia
Gooseberry	Jiggamint	Night	Washen
Hand	Mewet	Nipple	Bebadiook
Hair	Droua	Nails	Quiah
House	Mammiatuk	Neck	Tedeshet
Hammer	Mathuis	Oil	Cmol
Heart	Kogodeet	Otter	Cdrin
Hare	Odeuswet	Ochre	Jelemet
Husband	Yalkiook	Oar	Podibaa
Hoop	Waime	Puppies	Mammaaaret
Head	Gomathin-Keathut	Puppy	Mammoosermish
Hiccough	Meadyeut	Pen	Emomile
Herring	Wishemesh	Partridge	Josuet

PLATE 53



Pitcher & cup	ellaumma	Trousers	morocad
Pigeon (guillemot)	Bobbideek	Trout	Dallomiak
Puffin	Quarhamit	Ticklace (Sam)	Golhayet
Rake	Ahmee	Tear (Seal eye)	Gronet
Rein	Balhee	Tinker (")	Ashtiwok
Running	Hathamashet	Tickle	Kadrinishimile
Rowing	Oaravale	Thank you	Plimee
Sleeve	ellooseim	Thumb	Shiroma
Smoke	Boodick	Tongue	Memasook
Seal	Bidlesook	Thaw	Puzathiate
Shaking	ellathee	Thread	Nerarbisk
Spoon	Adadiminkee	Shoulder	Barowdisiick
Sun	Kuis & Nangaromiak	Woman	Emagmoo & Immaimagee
Sit down	Athek	Water	Ebaulkee
Sleep	Iseelon eel	Watch (by)	Kuis
Sail	Seddaweet	Woodpecker	Shelokmit
Sacks	Ellgiabalhook	Wife	Oosuck
Shovel	Godaweik	Walk	Woolhyat
Stockings	Jossel & gasuck	Warming yourself	Obookeem
Sound	Bidisoni	Wind	Gidgeatlee
Felt handstocking	Gelidimisk	Wolf	Maisawaseek
Prisons	Oregreen	Abdominal Wall	
Sore throat	Auadrick	Get up	Ann ahit
Snipe	Oonjet	Bread	Mangetabiak
Swimming	Shoondgee	Beat him	Betalkoonyet
Seal Sunken	Eparet	Belly	Hadabalhak
Scratch	Baahutet	Bird	Degun-gad
Scallop a pill	Gojoel	Bird	Degun-gad-rook
Sneezing	Adgilk	Blue	Eachang-eggbik
Singing	Awoodat	Blunt	Boas-eek
Shoulder	Mangeeathee	Blood	Ashabiwalk
Standing	Kingiabit	Bead	Baasiik
Shaking hands	Nimaimaathee	Ship a mast	Mangshing
Slave	Adlemikbit	Little Bird	Obeet
Vault	Bolomee	Black bird	Woodeh
Trap	Shabalhomee	Blunt ended pick	Mooeothiate
		Eagle	Gobeilin

PLATE 54

Woodpecker. *Shee-kwint.
Numerals
One *Yaseek
Two *Adzeich
Three *Shendeek
Four *ba-b-seek
Five *Nine yeek.
six *Bashed-theek
Seven *Ood-yook
Eight *Da-dazook
Nine *Yee-cho-duk
Ten *Shan-see
Eleven *Ee-yaqueh
Twelve *Ee-adzike
Thirteen *Ee-Shendeek
Fourteen *Ee-da-b-yook
Fifteen *Ee-nine-yeek
Sixteen *Ee-Bashed-theek
Seventeen *Ee-ood-yook
Eighteen *Ee-aa-da-yook
Nineteen *Ee-yee-cho-duk
Twenty *Oltō-ō-mut
Thirty *Shan-duk Oltō-ō-mut
Months or Moons
1st *Novemter — *Yoola-bon-yeah
2nd December — *Ootasweet-ee-shamut
3rd January — *Cot-shun-ee-samut
4th February — *Kos-theta-bonong-te-wa jo-wita
5th March — *Wa-na-nies
6th April — *Wasum-a-weeseek (1st Sunny moon)
7th May — *Be-de-jamiah Be-wa-jo-wita
8th June — *Wasum-a-wee-seek
9th July — *Cow a-ya-seek
10th August — *Wa-da wheyh
11th September — *Wasum-a-wee-seek
12th October — *Yoola-bon-yeah.
Notes. Count-ood Oolumet Oolbee. they made a mistake? sent ee and ee-oochee with a shake & then
Sun-Swon-Wacook. Kwo same word
Red Indian. Good night-o meetlane meetyetta same
Columbus—Blaze-see decemper
Boat-Adzike Pinkhook a Dolthook; I request Kwo a mistake for Boathook. they understand, kind no mind
Richmond-yon Red man a Bear.

Bureau of Ethnology copy of King MS 881

PLATE 55

121 Dwinals Road
Putney S.W.
Jan. 2. '83

Dear Sir

The accompanying is a copy of a MS, concerning which Mr Gatschet makes an enquiry, & although the papers with which so kindly favoured me, are not exactly on the same subject. I hope you may find something in vocabulary which I have the pleasure of sending to you.

Until about a week ago I thought the MS was lost, & gave it up; but raking about some old papers met with it.

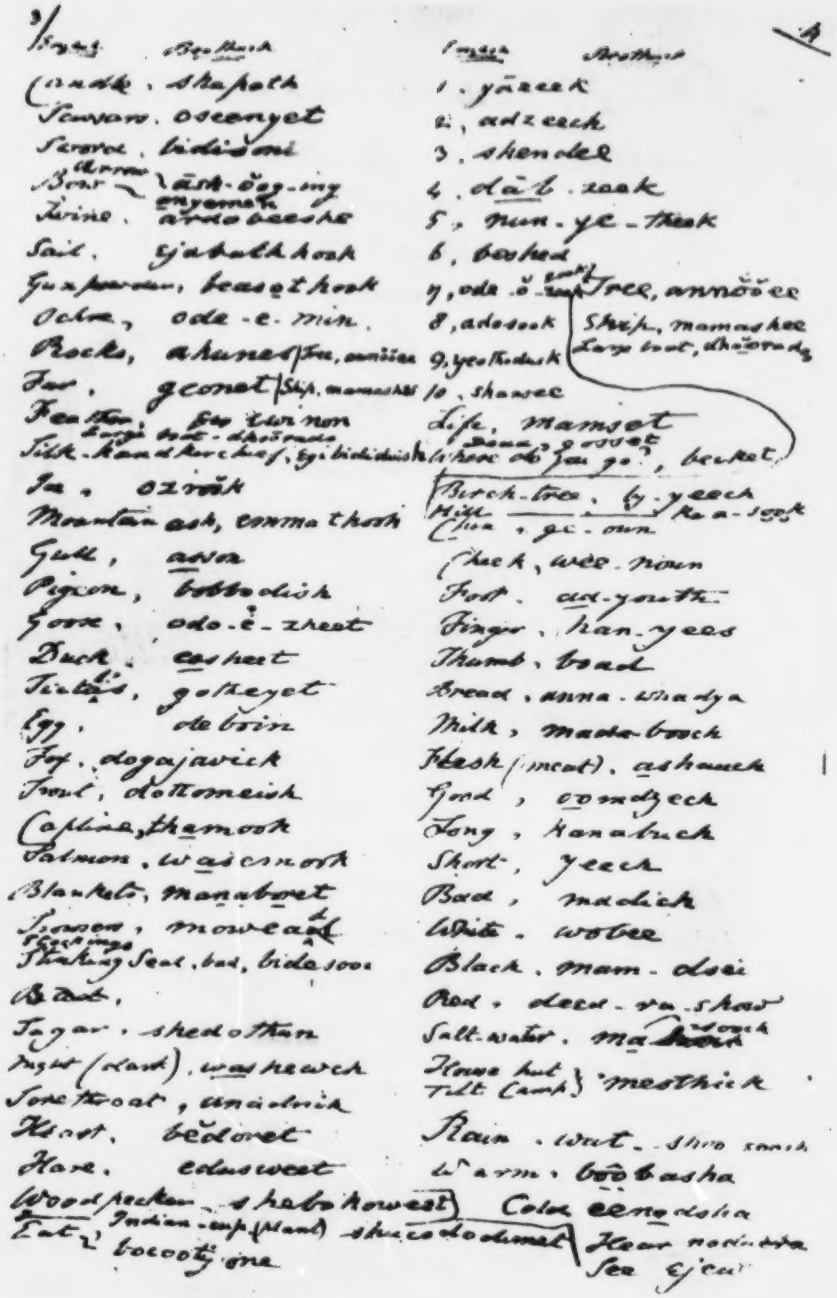
I have lost no time in forwarding copies to you, Mr Gatschett, & Mr Horsley of Newfoundland. who is specially interested in the subject.

I hope to write more about it; remaining most truly yours

R. G. Latham

PLATE 56

PLATE 57


3/
Eng.
Beothuck
Canada, shapolth
Canoe, oseenyet
Arrow, bidisooni
Bow, ăsk-ŏoy-my
Bow, enyemath
Arrow, arrobeeshe
Sail, ejabaldhook
Grapnel, beasetkook
Ochre, ode-e-min.
Rocks, ahanes
Tar, gconet
Feather, ewip
Feather, tur-non
Feather, boat-dhŏonado
Silk-Handkerchief, ejbididwish
Ice, ozrŏok
Mountain ash, commathoth
Gull, awoa
Pigeon, bobbodlish
Goose, odo-ĕ-zreet
Duck, ceshect
Teal, gotheyet
Egg, debrin
Fox, dogajawick
Trout, dottomeish
Capline, thamook
Salmon, waschnook
Blanket, manaburet
Spoon, mowcaak
Shooting Seal, bud, bidesoo
Boat,
Tagar, shedotthan
Night (adv), washewch
Sore throat, unaidwick
Heart, bĕdloret
Hare, edusweet
Woodpecker, shabokweet
Indian-cup (Plant), shucodedimet
Eat, bocooty one
4
Enga
Beothuck
1, yăzeek
2, adzeech
3, shendell
4, dăb-zaak
5, nun-ye-theak
6, beshed
7, ode ŏ-zuck, Tree, annŏŏee
8, adesook, Ship, mamashee, Large boat, dhŏonady
9, yestudesk
10, shawee
Life, Mamset
Head, gossat
Knee, ob jan go, beshet
Birch-tree, ej-yeech
Hill, Rain-sook
Chin, je-oun
Cheek, wee-noun
Foot, ad-youth
Finger, han-yees
Thumb, baad
Bread, anna-whadya
Milk, mada-book
Flesh (meat), ashamuk
Good, comadjeech
Long, hanabuck
Short, jeech
Bad, madick
White, wobee
Black, mam-dsee
Red, deed-ya-shaw
Salt-water, ma-
Stone hut, Tilt (camp), mesthick
Rain, wut-
Arm, bŏŏbasha
Cold, eemadosha
Hear, nodadda
Sea, ejeat

5

Sea - yew - continued

Smell —	an ārst
Rum —	ibadinnam
Heaven -	theohone
Fish —	ban booshe et
A Star —	shawwayet
The Sun —	Keeone
— Moon	Keeoee
Earth	Ke kaout
No —	neïm
Yes -	ethath
Give me —	day - ha - min
Tobacco —	Neskwa,
Drink —	ebashook
Speak —	Carntack
Good -	homedick
Bad	mendee
Water —	ebadse
I like —	yeedisk
Day —	yasark
Wet -	wabee
Snow	Canadabow
Rain -	badi'ese
Stones —	oun
Hill (hill) —	Keoosock
Kitchee	shebon
Kill -	wha dechone
Come -	toonet
Dead —	Jeneeth. gaoth

PLATE 59

5/1

A

Albin mamsoot
Knife kushkus
Woods annoose
Bushes barbes mandeweres
Color, ee. no. d. ja
Bad, Muddy
Black, Mandzay
Brook, skeebin
Bat, so. skeet

C

Cat, ee. see. tŏŏn
Bair (sic), skeeskiwit
Cockle, skeen. en. ee. skeet
Capelin, shāṃ. ŏŏ

D

Dead, gousset
Drink, thaltkoot
Eat, po. koo. doont
Jam skapŏŏ (Ojiqi)
Go to bed, a. o. seadiut
Am hungry, bŏŏkauwhit

E. ✕

F

Fear, geswat
No fear, cockabuset
Fire, boo. bee. skaut
Flat fish, Flatbat, } han. a. wŏsutt

G

Go home. Bātka

H

Hatchet, dthŏŏ. nan. yon
Knife, nauth ee. wa. con
Axe (English) aba. dang. eyk

6/

I.

Indian (Eymouy; Labrador; aashŭn

K

Kill, bŏŏ. [illegible] tŏŏk
Not kill, dut. yanŏ

L

Long, mamatabet
Lean, ash. ai
Eat, eeg

M.

Micmac, skanung
Moon, waskageuis
Muscle, ŏ. wameet
Make haste, ee. skŏŏ
Milk, mada. bŏŏk
Man (Red Indian) skawd. ik. [illegible]
Woman (Red Indian) wŏŏn. dut.
Boy (Red Indian) mo. ga. eteeh.
Girl (") [illegible]
Husband (a woman calls My Husband, or nie nenā - Am. - woyd - ing

N

No, Nemin
Watch, kaaose
House, Mestick
Wood, woodum
Tree. Mosoon

O

Go out doors, } bŏŏ. dut
Go out doors }

P. 2

R

Red Indian, Beothick

S

PLATE 60

S.

Son, magĕraguais
Speak, jeroothach
Soon jeŭ. metchoon
Shoot Wadshrödet
Sea keuse
Sleet woke-shoot
Seal bood-zuck
Sorrow (of deer) mod. tha. mark
Snow koa. suss. abŏŏk
Snail ak. u. eece
Thunder woad. dthoo. win

T

To-morrow. maduch
Tea Tongue. mamadth-at
See. butterwge

W

White wobee

Y

Yes. yeathun

Don't be afraid. cockábonet
Not hurt you. aŏŏdrach
We come here to be friends
Shandon that is about, walk,
"how talk the English
Come with me to dŏŏood
And go see him
You come back again Waddyed
(or stay here us
when you wish
Doodle beashet is about
Go away
Will give you a knife

Doodle beashet mamsheet
Gayshoot
Wan-sharnat ŏ-ŏwin
Mŏŏ mĕshduk
Shake hands kaw-injemeash

Latham to Gatschet MS 1449

PLATE 61

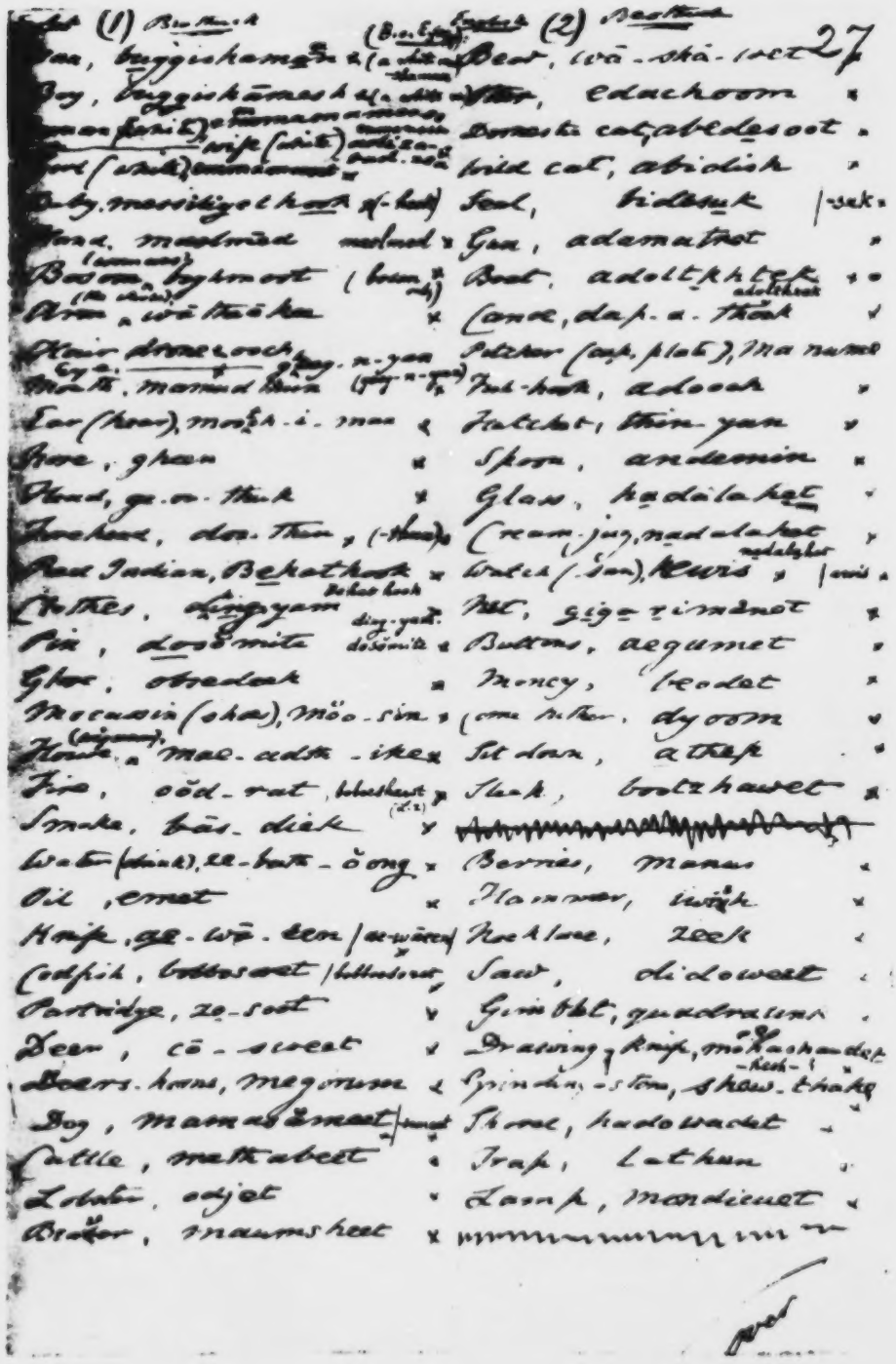


PLATE 62

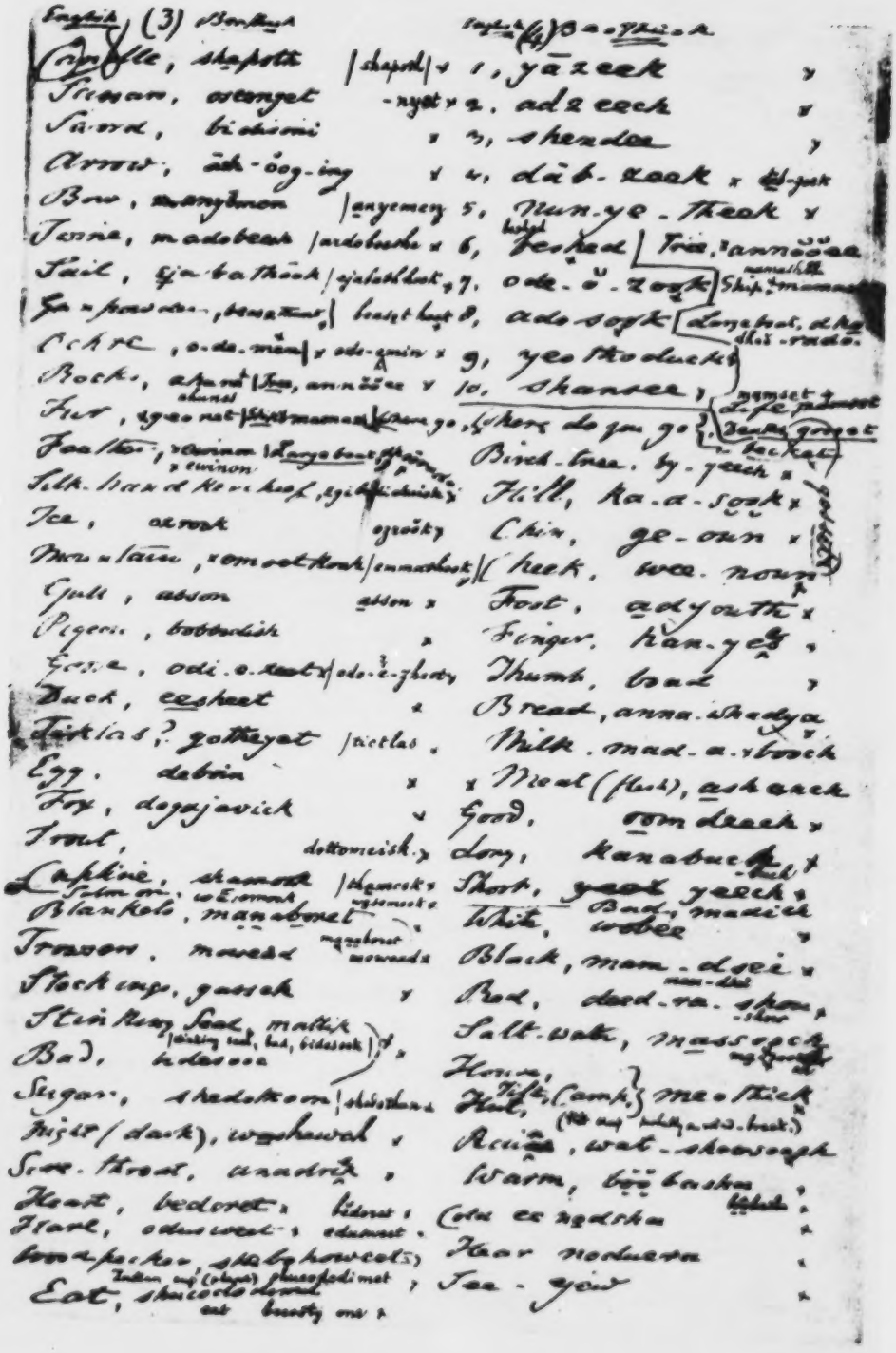


PLATE 63

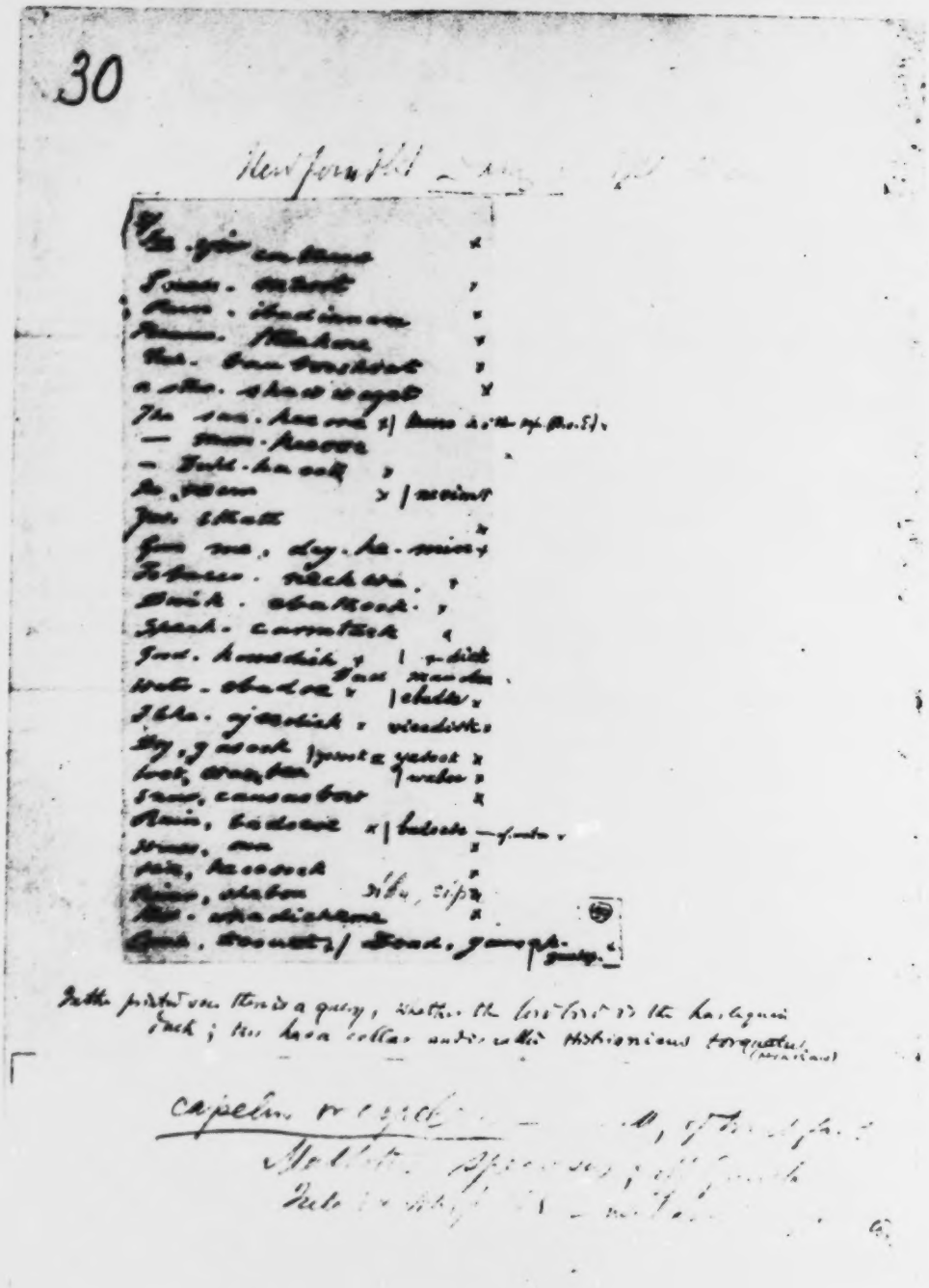


PLATE 64

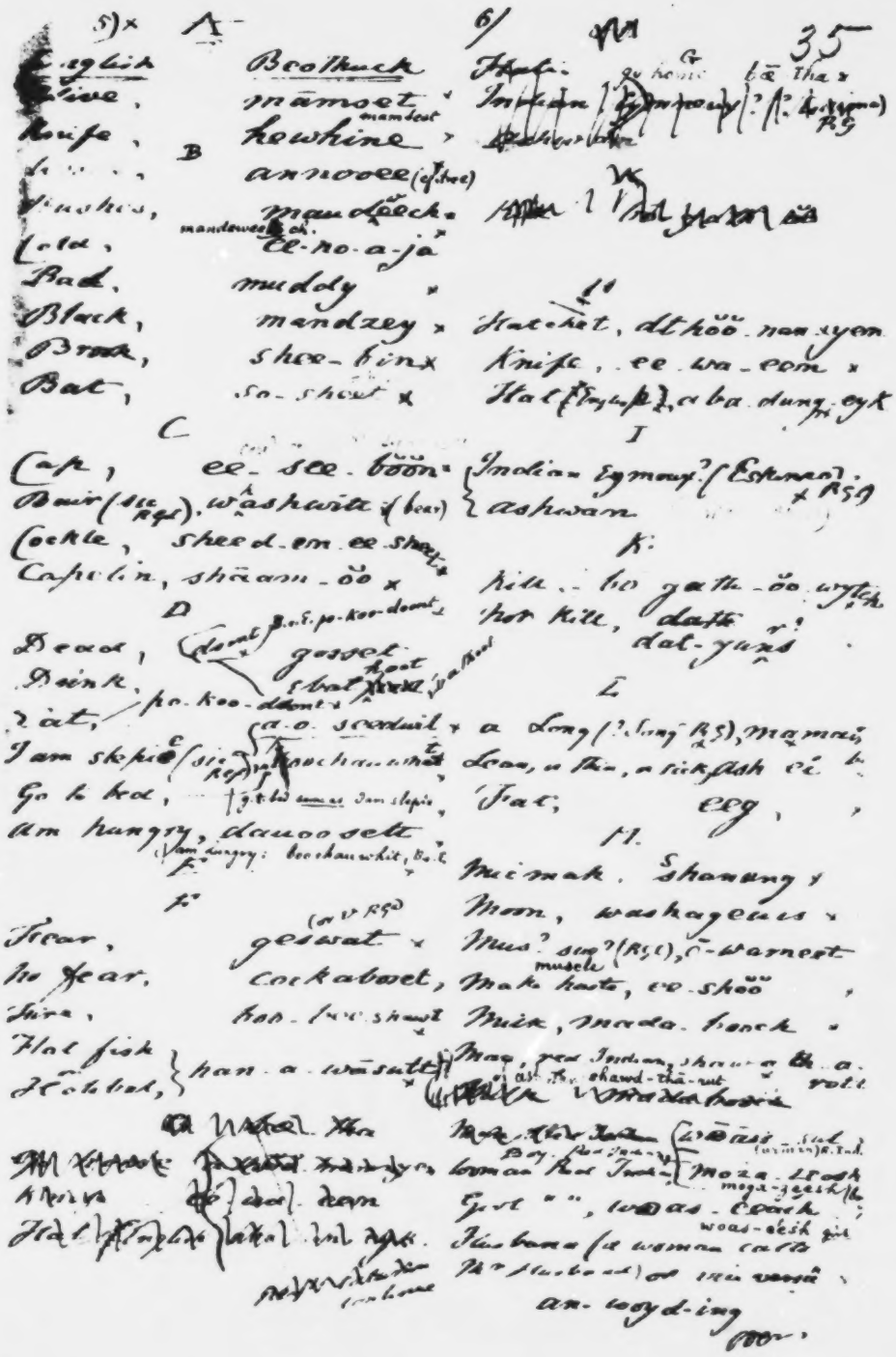
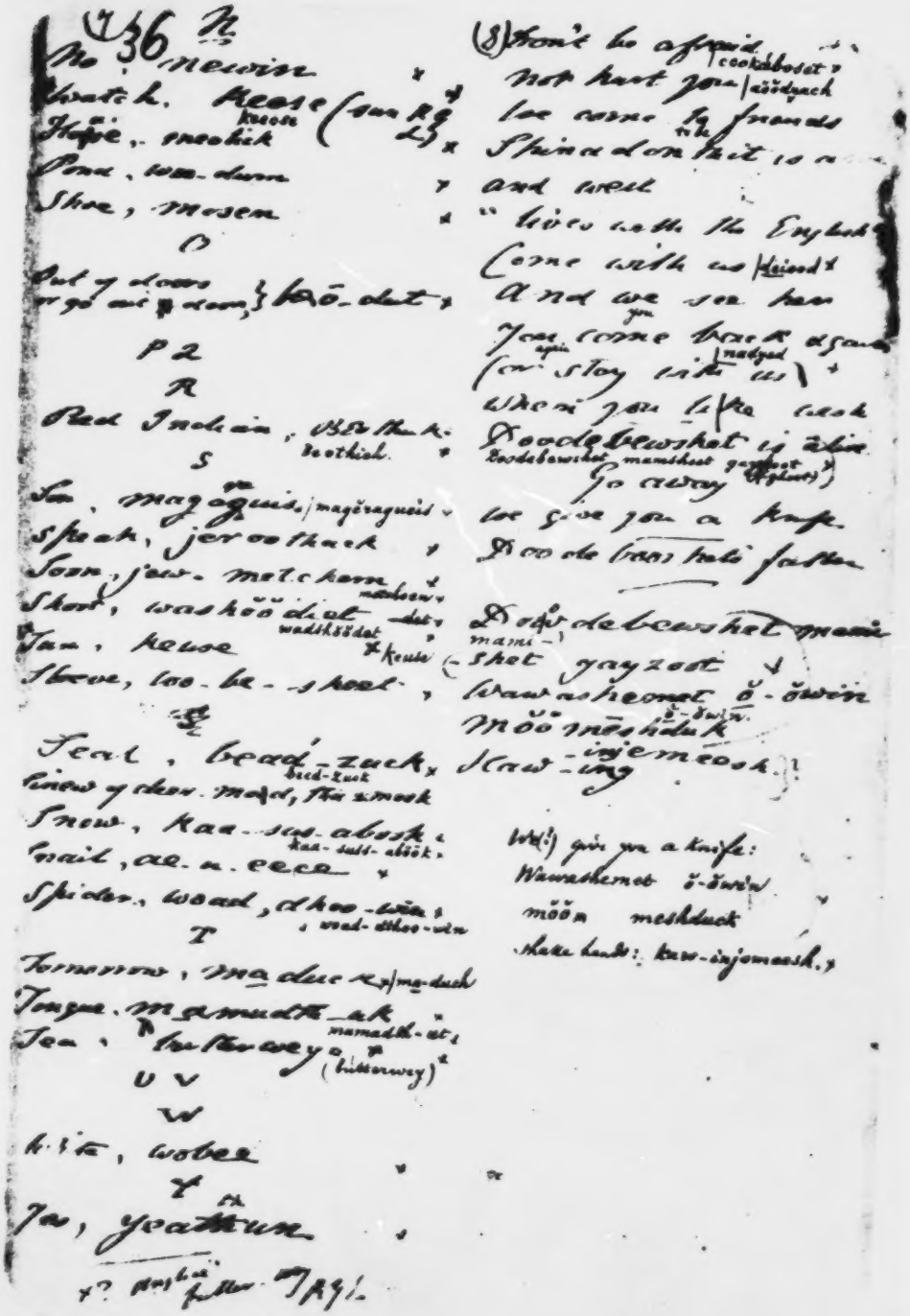


PLATE 65



Chapter 5
Interpreting the Vocabularies

The Problems of Interpretation

Before the invention of the printing press most spelling was phonetic: people wrote down what they heard. When the printer sets up type, however, he copies what he sees. Consequently, in English, we have continued to copy from sight, since English was first printed in the fifteenth century, spellings that represent more of a fifteenth century pronunciation than a twentieth century one. From Chaucer's day to our own, pronunciations have evolved radically, but we perpetuate much of Chaucer's spelling. Evolution takes pronunciations on different paths, so that today we have wind (verb) and wind (noun) where two different vowel sounds are spelled identically. We may also make up lists such as the following, where, for many speakers of English the letter a will be pronounced differently in every word: all, swallow, allow, can, came, calm, adage. Consonants too vary in their spellings so that non-native speakers may very well be baffled by such pairs as give and gibe.

When a speaker of English uses his alphabet to record sounds, therefore, there is a serious problem of interpreting the spellings: does g represent the sound in give or in gibe? Which of the different pronunciations does a represent?

This is further complicated by the fact that languages have different sound systems, and may have contrasts that do not occur in English at all. When a Francophone pronounces si, su, sou, an Anglophone who knows no other language but his own is likely to write these as see, soo, soo or see, see, soo. Anyone trying to make sense of such spellings after a language had died out, is confronted by puzzles to which there is often no answer.

Worse still, the untrained observer listening to a language that he has never heard before simply does not hear it properly at all. He is like the small child who, when acquiring his language, develops pronunciations that are quite different from those of his parents and family: approximations of the recognized pronunciation. These may have syllables lost or replaced, consonants transferred or copied, and so forth, as in paushee (Clinch) and boyish (Leigh), both glossed as birch bark. And, as often happens in child language, certain features of a sound may be retained when other features are lost. We may note, for example, the alternation of b (a voiced bilabial plosive) and m (a voiced bilabial nasal) in the two glosses for shoulder: momezabethon (Clinch) and momegemethon (Leigh).

Another problem is failure of communication when the informant and the observer misconstrue each other's intentions. This may happen in the best of situations, but occurs with great frequency when, for lack of a common language between informant and observer, gesture or mime is used to convey the meaning of words. Then, for example, the observer may write down blackbird as the meaning of the word that was given when, in fact, the informant gave the word for nest.

All these problems have been compounded in the Beothuk vocabularies by the garbling of the original documents in copying, written transmission and publication.

In interpreting the vocabularies therefore the first step must necessarily be the establishment of the original spellings and the discarding of the erroneous and garbled versions that have developed over the years. All further interpretation and evaluation depends on this preliminary work: the seeking out and interpreting of the earliest available manuscripts and the collection of subsequent copies to determine what the original spelling probably was.

Further interpretation also depends on the collation of the different spellings given for single words by the different observers. It is notable, for example, that Clinch misses the final elements of words.

English	Clinch	Leigh
blow the nose	shegame	shegamit
body	haddabothy	haddabothic
canoe	thubathew	tapathook
cry	mautheauthaw	matheoduc
eyebrow	momeaugh	marmeuck
hiccups	mudyraw	madyrut
iron	mauageene	mowageenite
kneeling	abusthibe	abusthibit
louse	cusebee	kusebeet
run	wothamashee	wothamashet
smoke	possthee	bosdic
standing	kingabie	kingiabit
throw	pugatho	pugathoite
tongue	memaza	memasuck

Sometimes, by such comparisons it is possible to identify items that were not properly heard.

Sometimes such comparisons also lead to indications as to the value of a vowel symbol. Tapathook and thubathew in the list above indicate that the a of the first syllable was like that in either mat or allow, rather than like that of mate.

Information may also be gleaned in similar fashion about the sound system of Beothuk. It is clear, for example, by the numerous spellings showing alternation of voiced and unvoiced sounds that voicing was not distinctive in Beothuk, and that p and b sounds, which are two distinctive speech sounds in English, were simple variations of one and the same sound in Beothuk:

English	Clinch	Leigh
smoke	possthee	bosdic

fish, codfish	poopusrout	bobboosoret
large bird, sea pigeon	popadish	bobbodish

Also, where Clinch and Leigh have pooith and pooeth for thumb, King has boad and Mrs. Jure buit. The alternation is also found for t and d, k and g, s and z, sh [š] and zh [ž], ch [č] and dg [ǰ]:

t/d	canoe	L. K.	tapathook; dapathook
t/d	come	K1. K2.	toouet; deiood
k/g	man	L. J.	bukashaman; buggishaman
k/g	chin	CL. L.	keoun; goun
s/z	walk	J.	baysot, bazot
s/z	partridge	CL. K.	susut; zosoot
š/ž	make haste	J.	ishu, izhu
š/ž	ship, vessel	K1. C.	mamashee; mamzhing
č/ǰ	go to bed, sleep	K4. K1.	boochauwhat; bootzhawet

The same method also brings into focus the confusions over meaning caused by misinterpretation of what was being said:

1	a	go to bed	K4.	boochauwhat
	b	sleep	K1. CL.	bootzhawet; puthuauth
	c	lie down	L.	bituwait
	d	lying	CL.	pisauwau
2	a	wild cat	L.	abidish
	b	domestic cat	L.	abideeshook
	c	cat	J.	obodish

	d	beast	CL.	obditch
	e	seal	L.	bidesook
	f	sunken seal	L.	aparet a bidesook
3	a	mouth	L. K1.	mameshook; mamudthun
	b	tongue	CL. L. K3.	memaza; memasuck; mamadthut
4	a	white	K1, K2, K3, K4.	wobee
	b	wet	K1, K2.	wabee

In these cases there are apparent confusions as to the real meanings of the words involved. In many other cases there are obvious confusions, but lack of comparative evidence prevents interpretation and elucidation.

The Position of Beothuk

Because of the inherent difficulties of interpreting the Beothuk vocabularies that we have, the linguistic position of Beothuk and the relationship of the Beothuk language to the languages of North America have long been matters of controversy.

First of all, it should not be necessary to emphasize that there can be no question of any relationship between Beothuk and languages of the Indo-European phylum. In spite of the cultural evidence to the contrary, sentimentalists persist in viewing the Beothuk as descendants of Vikings or Spanish gypsies; the linguistic evidence against such aberrations is categorical: in languages of the Indo-European phylum voicing is distinctive, whereas (no matter what interpretation one makes of the scant and garbled Beothuk evidence), one thing is quite clear (as has been shown): voicing in Beothuk is not distinctive. And since Beothuk culture is of a rather typical Amerindian type,[62] the obvious conclusion is that Beothuk is an Amerindian language.

We have seen that Latham, on the evidence of the King vocabulary alone, stated that Beothuk was related to Algonkian. This would make sense geographically, since all the languages of the immediately contiguous mainland are of the Algonkian family: Montagnais-Naskapi in the Labrador peninsula, and Micmac in Nova Scotia, northern New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and the Gaspé peninsula of Quebec. Micmac, and the languages of the Canadian Maritime Provinces, of New England and the Atlantic seaboard, belong to the Eastern Algonkian branch. Montagnais-Naskapi, on the other hand, belongs to the Central Algonkian group, and is a relative newcomer, from the linguistic evidence, to the Labrador peninsula (Montagnais-Naskapi is to a certain degree mutually comprehensible to Cree, which is spoken from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains, indicating that Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi has spread over the area from the Quebec North Shore and the Labrador Coast on the one hand to the Rocky Mountains on the other during the last thousand years. If this spread had taken place earlier, the speech of the foothills of the

Rockies would not today be comprehensible on the Coast of Labrador, two thousand five hundred miles away).

In spite of Latham's early assertion of Algonkian affinity, however, the evidence he offers is certainly not conclusive. In fact later, in his massive work *Elements of Comparative Philology* (1862) he appears to hedge from his more categorical earlier statement: "The Bethuck (sic) is the native language of Newfoundland. In 1846, the collation of a Bethuck vocabulary enabled me to state that the language of the extinct, or doubtfully extant, aborigines of that island was akin to those of the ordinary American Indians rather than to the Eskimo; further investigation showing that, of the ordinary American languages, it was Algonkin rather than aught else." (1862:453) He lists twenty-two words from Beothuk with what he takes to be cognates from other languages, but such listings of chance resemblances are of little value.

Gatschet, who worked on the vocabularies in the 1880's disagreed with Latham's opinion and declared Beothuk to be "a separate linguistic family". I have shown elsewhere (Hewson 1968) that Gatschet's arguments in support of this view, however, can all be refuted by counter evidence.

Gatschet's view was attacked in the 1890's by Campbell (1892) who defended Latham's view of an Algonkian affinity. Campbell's listings are an interesting hodge-podge, but quite unreliable, and totally subjective. He even adds "a comparison of some Beothik words with Malay-Polynesian, which tends to locate the ancestral Beothik stock in Celebes" – another reference to be filed with the Vikings and the Spanish gypsies.

Brinton (1891) considered Beothuk was Eskimoan in type, but this too is unsupported. Robert Peterson, in personal correspondence, told me that he had attempted a comparison with Eskimoan, but the most that could be found was a handful of similarities in a few roots, and no grammatical similarities except that the K of the plural in Beothuk could be the same as the dual marker in Eskimoan. This lack of correlation is, of course, supported by the cultural evidence.

Sapir in 1929 assigns Beothuk, with a question mark, to Macro-Algonkian, commenting that it "may be a very divergent member" of Algonkian (1949:171). C.F. and E.W. Voegelin (1946) follow the traditional Bureau of American Ethnology view stemming from Gatschet, explaining the obvious Algonkian elements in Beothuk as borrowings. And again in 1963 C.F. and F.M. Voegelin state: "Through the Beothuk overlap in general cultural manifestation with the Algonquian, their language differs generally from Algonquian languages." (1963:82) Greenberg in 1953 considered the Algonkian relationship a probable one and Gursky in 1964 also compares 16 words of Beothuk and declares: "Diese Vergleiche sprechen dafür, dass die Beothuk-Sprache zum Algonkin-Ritwan-Sprachstamm gehört."[6 3] (1964:4)

These comments show that there are two different opinions about Beothuk: 1) that it is unrelated to any other language – a linguistic isolate, and 2) it is a distant relation of the Algonkian family. This controversy has gone on for over a hundred years, aided on the one hand by the state of the Beothuk vocabularies and, on the other hand, by the lack of exact information about the Algonkian languages to which there was a supposed possible relationship.

It is the lack of exact information that prevents the proper application of the full

comparative method, which would yield the only coherent evidence of a linguistic relationship. The comparative method, when fully applied, has four stages: 1) the collecting of apparent resemblances; 2) the drawing up of regular sound correspondences or reflexes; 3) the application of these regular correspondences or reflexes, categorically and without exceptions or anomalies, to the data of the lexicon; 4) the demonstration of grammatical or structural resemblances, where the sound correspondences also correlate in a coherent network of interdependent correspondences that prove beyond all doubt a genetic relationship.

We now have sufficient exact data on the Algonkian languages (including reconstructions of the hypothetical protolanguage, Proto-Algonkian, from which the extant languages are descended) to be able to fill out one side of the equation, but must rely on the Beothuk vocabularies, such as they are, to fill out the other side. Operation of the comparative method, though inhibited by the confusions of the vocabularies, can nevertheless yield positive results.

In a recent survey in fact (Hewson 1971), I was able to show that one could trace coherent reflexes of the Proto-Algonkian consonants in almost sixty items of the Beothuk vocabularies. It was impossible, given the garbled spellings, to do anything coherent with the vowels, and the reflexes of consonant clusters were too few to draw any clear conclusions. Because of the coherence of the consonant correspondences, however, it was possible to note in the Beothuk data elements of Algonkian grammatical structure, particularly in word formation. A sample of the comparisons is given at this point to show the kind of evidence involved.

Comparisions with Proto-Algonkian

1	Armpit, arm	PA.	*weθenki his armpit, arm;
		B.	watheek arm
2	Bag (deverbal)	PA.	*-mot-;
		B.	boochmoot seal skin bag full
3	Berry (dim.)	PA.	*min-ehs-i;
		B.	manus
4	Bite	PA.	*paškantamwa he breaks it by mouth;
		B.	bashoodik bite
5	Boat	PA.	*weto·θ- his boat;
		B.	adothe boat
6	Coal, fuel	PA.	*mehθ- firewood;
		B.	methie coal
7	Currants	PA.	*šo·mini grape, raisin;
		B.	shamye currants
8	Cut	PA.	*weliswe·wa he, she cuts it (animate) out;
		B.	odishuik or odishuite cut

9	Eyebrows	PA.	*mɜ • ma • wonaki;
		B.	marmeuk
10	Fish (deverbal)	PA.	*-ame • kw;
		B.	wasemook salmon, shamook capelin
11	Fish (dim.)	PA.	*-ame • ʔsa
		B.	dottomeish trout, washemesh herring
12	Kiss	PA.	*weč̆ye • me • wa he kisses her;
		B.	widumite kiss
13	Long	PA.	*kenwa • pye • kanwi it (stringlike object) is long;
		B.	kannabuck long
14	Micmac	PA.	*să • wanowaki southerners;
		B.	shawnuk Micmacs (form recorded by Peyton)
15	Red ochre	PA.	*welamana;
		B.	odemen
16	Shoe	PA.	*maxkeseni;
		B.	moosin
17	Sit	PA.	*eθapiwa he sits so;
		B.	athep sit
18	Stinging fly	PA.	*penkwehš̆a;
		B.	bogosthuc mosquito
19	String (dim.)	PA.	*-a • py-ehš̆-i;
		B.	meroopish
20	Sun, moon	PA.	*ki • sč̆ʔθwa;
		B.	kius
21	Warming self	PA.	*apesowa he warms himself;
		B.	obosheen warming yourself
22	White	PA.	*wa • p-;
		B.	wobee
23	Yawn	PA.	*ta • waθwa;
		B.	tibeath
24	Animate plural	PA.	*-aki;
		B.	-k
25	Inanimate plural	PA.	*-ali;
		B.	-t

Notes on the Comparisons

1 Proto-Algonkian has diminutive suffixes *ehs and *-ehš. These may be observed in 3, 18 and 19. They are also found elsewhere in the Beothuk data. Note especially shoewan, and shoewanyeesh drinking cup, both drawn by Shanawdithit (Howley 1915:opp. p. 248), the latter just half the size of the former.

2 In item 4 *pašk- is a root meaning burst, *-ant is a grammatical formative which indicates a) the verb is transitive, b) the object of the verb is inanimate, and c) the meaning by mouth. The Beothuk word appears to contain this same formative, since consonant clusters of nasal + plosive lose the nasal element in Beothuk (compare items 1 and 18 where PA *nk = B. k).[64] The final consonant of the Beothuk word can also be accounted for if one turns to the conjunct form of the verb, which would be PA *pe·skantanki he breaks it by mouth (where again we see PA *nk = B. k).

3 In item 7 it should be remembered that Clinch (who reports this word) regularly fails to record the final consonants of words.

4 In item 8 the root *wel- means in the proper place, appropriately. This is followed by the grammatical element *-ešw, which indicates a) the verb is transitive, b) the object is animate, c) the meaning by cutting. Again the inflection can be accounted for if one turns to the conjunct form of the verb, which would be PA *we·lišwaki I cut him out or * we·lišwe·ki you (pl.) cut him out if the spelling is -ik, as in Lloyd, or *we·lišwa·t- he, she is cutting him out if the spelling is -ite (as the ambiguous spellings of the two National Museum copies suggest).

5 The noun eyebrow is animate, and is shown in item 9 with its plural marker *-aki which corresponds to the -k of the Beothuk form. Cf., in this regard, a similar plural in 18.

6 In item 12 the *-m- of the PA form indicates a) that the verb is transitive, b) that the object is animate, c) the meaning by mouth. The same element is found in the Beothuk word. Again if one turns to the conjunct form of the verb all the parts of the Beothuk word – root, transitive final and inflection – can be accounted for; PA *we·čye·ma·či he kisses her, when the final -i is lost, regularly restores the final consonant to -t (e.g., Naskapi has we·če·ma·t for the conjunct of this verb, and it appears the Beothuk word had a similar pronunciation).

7 The Micmac came from Nova Scotia in early historical times and settled in Southern and Western Newfoundland. After the defeat of the French (their allies) in the Seven Years War (1756-1763) a large group left Nova Scotia and attempted to settle in the Island of St. Pierre, the last remaining North American possession of France. The French government refused them permission, however, fearing that this might prejudice the position of St. Pierre, and they settled forty miles away on the Newfoundland mainland in Bay D'Espoir, where their descendants may be found today in the Village of Conne River. Bay D'Espoir is 100 miles due south of Bay of Exploits, and to the Beothuk these other Indians, with whom hostilities soon broke out, were "the people from the South". This type of naming is typically Algonkian: the extant name Shawnee is a corruption of this same word, and early maps of Virginia record that one of the Indian groups south of Cape Hatteras went by the name of Chawanoac (initial ch to be pronounced as in French).

8 The word for red ochre (item 15) is so obviously an Algonkian word, that if one adopts the position that Beothuk is a linguistic isolate, this word must be explained as a borrowing. People, however, do not normally borrow words for cultural elements that are distinctively their own: if they borrow a name it is normally because they have borrowed the cultural element to which it applies (a new or foreign element, for which, of course, they would have no native name). Given that red ochre was such a distinctive element of Beothuk culture, we are obliged to conclude that this is not a borrowing but a native Beothuk word, and therefore very strong evidence of an Algonkian affinity of the language.

9 The word for shoe and the word for sun, moon have both undergone haplology, that is the reduction of two similar syllables to one single syllable (as when English Mrs. becomes slurred to Mi'z, or probably to probly). The *xk cluster in shoe would give ss in Beothuk, and the form *massesen(i) would be reduced by haplology to two syllables.[65] Likewise the cluster *ʔθ in sun would also give ss in Beothuk, and the form *ki·šessw(a) would be reduced to a monosyllable. These changes are not unusual. The word shoe in Naskapi became mascîsin in early historical times, and because in some dialects sč has become ss, hapology in these cases has reduced the word to massin, (ie., mascîsin › massisin › massin). The word for sun, moon has also undergone haplology in Micmac, where today it occurs in the form -ku·s in certain month names, e.g., si·ko·ku·s spring month, spring moon, toqwaqiku·s fall month, fall moon.

10 Even where Algonkian languages have adopted a new word for sun, this word also means moon: e.g., Cree pi·sim sun, moon. It is also a common pattern to make compounds such as Cree ki·sika·wipi·sim day-sun, tipiska·wipi·sim night-sun (i.e., moon). Beothuk follows the same pattern with mageragueis sun and washageuis moon (in this last item we can distinguish washew night, darkness, and kuis sun (k and g being variants of a single sound).

11 The plural of the PA word in item 18 is *penkwehšaki which should give something like [pəkošš̌ək] in Beothuk. The spelling sth may indicate either a) fortis or geminate š, or b) a retroflex articulation of š.

12 The root in item 21 is PA *ap- warmth. This is followed by the element -eso which indicates a) that the verb is reflexive, b) the meaning by heat. The appropriate conjunct form to explain the Beothuk word is PA *e·pesoyini you are warming yourself.

13 To interpret item 23, the element tibe- of tibeath must be rhymed with tribe, and the whole pronounced as two syllables: tibe-ath. A [w] may easily be heard as [b]. There is no inflection on the Beothuk word – but the reporter is Clinch, who regularly fails to report endings.

Conclusion

Most of the comparisions made above were unknown to Gatschet, who, from the data available in his day, would have been right if he had contented himself with simply stating that the evidence for an Algonkian affinity was less than convincing. To have stated categorically that Beothuk was a linguistic isolate, however, while at the same time admitting that Beothuk plurals and diminutives were of a typical Algonkian type (Gatschet 1886:427) suggests that Gatschet lacked experience in dealing with divergent languages that share a genetic relationship.

It was the lexical divergence of Beothuk that led Gatschet to the conclusion that Beothuk was a linguistic isolate. He mentions going over a Beothuk list with "a clergyman thoroughly conversant with Ojibwe" and being unable to find any "term in Ojibwe corresponding". But this is an absurd test: one could do the same with Russian and English, whose genetic relationship is well known, and arrive at the same results. In fact one could do the same with other languages of the Algonkian family. A casual comparision of lists of words, badly recorded or not, from Blackfoot or Arapaho with words from Ojibwa or Cree or Fox would not produce any more profitable results. Comparison is only profitable, and only makes sense, when one penetrates beneath the surface appearances of words to analyse the changes that have taken place, and to relate divergent words to a common underlying structure.

The Ojibwa word for girl, for example, is ikkwe·sse·ns, the Beothuk word is woaseesh. The Ojibwa word is, however, from Proto-Algonkian *eθkwe·w- woman with double diminutive (i.e., two diminutive suffixes added, one with -ss and one with -ns). One finds a similar double diminutive in Cree iskwe·sis girl. PA *θk, which gives Ojibwa kk and Cree sk, would give ss in Beothuk (see back above), so that if this word had been preserved, and not lost in Beothuk, one could expect to find something like [esswe·ssiss]. Loss of the initial syllable (a phenomenon known as aphesis) would make this word resemble the Beothuk gloss given above: woaseesh. The word for woman in Beothuk, however, is woasut, and this does not seem to bear any resemblance to Ojibwa ikkwe· and Cree iskwe·w, since the Beothuk word still appears to include a diminutive suffix (-s), not found in Cree and Ojibwa, as well as a further suffix (-ut) added after the diminutive suffix. A diminutive form for woman occurs in Fox, however, which has both ihkwe·wa and ihkwe·he·wa (dim.) for woman alongside iskwe·se·ha girl (showing yet another double diminutive), and there are reasons for concluding that -ut is a misspelling for -uk, which is used elsewhere in the vocabularies as a plural marker: 1) final t and k are often confused both by sound and spelling, 2) the most obvious affix to appear on a noun after a diminutive suffix is a plural marker, 3) if the -ut were not such an affix, but a basic part of the word instead, one would expect to see it in the word for girl as well, since this latter is clearly a derivation from the word for woman. Because of the uncertainties, however, these items do not constitute direct evidence of a Beothuk relation to Algonkian: the purpose of introducing them here is to show that surface appearances can be misleading, and that an analysis which penetrates beneath the surface to the structure of the word can show resemblances that are not at all obvious.

Analysis of the structure of the verb forms of Beothuk also reveals that in several cases whole words can be interpreted in terms of Algonkian formatives – roots, finals and inflections – provided that one turns to the conjunct forms of the verb. The conjunct order is normally used for subordinate or imbedded verbs (it translates English participles and subordinate clauses, for example) and in most Algonkian languages the normal form, for main clauses, is the so-called independent order, which is plainly distinguished from the conjunct order by the use of personal prefixes. It is not unusual, however, for the participial forms of the verb to supplant, in linguistic evolution, the normal independent forms of the verb: such a diachronic shift has taken place in Ungava Eskimo, for example. And, indeed, within the Algonkian family itself, Micmac has lost the old independent indicative, replacing it completely with conjunct forms, and Arapaho has replaced the independent order in the affirmative by the conjunct, keeping the old independent forms in the non-affirmative. These two languages are geographically polarised, Micmac on the Atlantic seaboard, Arapaho in the Western Prairies, and there is furthermore internal evidence in these languages (Goddard 1967:11) to indicate that these parallel developments are quite independent of each other. There is nothing unusual, therefore, in finding that Beothuk verb

forms reflect the conjunct order, not the independent order, since it is quite possible that Beothuk had lost the independent forms and replaced them with conjunct forms, as has happened in Micmac and Arapaho.

There is no doubt, however, that if Beothuk is an Algonkian language it is very divergent in terms of its vocabulary. Frequently, a cultural phenomenon (e.g., a hunter's tabu on the mentioning of the names of game animals or birds) will cause lexical divergence (since the hunter will then refer to the animal by nickname, in order to avoid the true name). Micmac, for example, has kopit, a participial form (he who comes out of the water) for beaver whereas Ojibwa has amikk and Cree has amisk from PA *ameθkwa beaver.

Nicknames may also replace other names as well, so that Micmac has e·pit woman where other Algonkian languages have reflexes of PA *eθkwe·wa, and na·ku·set sun, tepkunu·set moon where others have reflexes of PA *ki·šeʔθwa. These Micmac words are all clearly participial forms, since their grammatical paradigms show typical participial morphology.

It is of interest, therefore, that so many Beothuk animal and other names end in -t, indicating an Algonkian participial ending:

beaver	mamshet
bear	gwashuwet
deer	osweet
hare	odusweet
partridge	susut
puffin	gwoshuawit
woodpecker	shebohowit
codfish	bobboosoret
lobster	odjet

Proper names may also be found having participial form in Algonkian languages, and it may be observed that many Beothuk proper names of people end in -t:

Shanawdithit

Demasduwit

Nonosabasut (Demasduwit's husband)

Doodebewshet (Shanawdithit's mother)

Participles also form their plural by adding the verbal suffix *-iki rather than the nominal suffix *-aki, with the result that the -t of the singular is palatalized when followed by *iki: the plural of Micmac e·pit woman is e·pičik. It is interesting to compare Cormack's pair

bird	deyn-yad
birds (pl.)	deyn-yadrook

Retroflex r in English causes palatalization of preceding t and d.[66] Cormack may therefore be trying to indicate palatalization of the final consonant of the singular when the plural marker is added. This r element certainly does not appear in ordinary nominal plurals: Beothuk, Shawnuk (the Micmac).

There is ample evidence, therefore, that Beothuk, in spite of the distortions and errors of the vocabularies, can be interpreted as a language of the Algonkian type. Whether the Beothuk language is the product of an early migration to the northeast before the general break up of Algonkian unity, or simply another Algonkian language of a somewhat divergent type (as Micmac and Blackfoot are divergent), the linguistic evidence is insufficient to allow us to draw clear conclusions. What archaeological evidence we have indicates that Beothuk migration into Newfoundland is relatively recent: no archaeological traces have yet been found that predate the Christian era, whereas Dorset Eskimo sites and materials from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. are prolific, indicating that "during the last centuries B.C. and the first half of the first millennium A.D., Newfoundland was extensively occupied by Dorset people". (Linnamae 1975:94).

The Beothuk also had folk memories of migrating into Newfoundland across the Belle Isle Strait from Labrador, as Shanawdithit informed Peyton (Howley 1915:256), and we should consequently expect their language, if it is simply a divergent Algonkian language, to be of a Central rather than of an Eastern type. Again the linguistic evidence is insufficient to draw any firm conclusions. It may be noted, however, that both PA *θk and *xk (see back, shoe, above) appear to show the same reflex (ss) in Beothuk, a trait found in all Central languages, but not found in the Eastern languages: in the Eastern languages these two clusters always give different reflexes, and this feature is normally considered diagnostic for distinguishing the two Algonkian subgroups.

In the past ten years much progress has been made in the study and description of Algonkian languages. As our knowledge of Algonkian expands, it will be of interest to keep returning to the Beothuk vocabularies to see if any further parts of the puzzle they represent can be fitted into place. Consequently this re-edition of the vocabularies will, it is hoped, be useful to Algonkianists and others by making these vocabularies more easily available, and in such a form that the original manuscripts can be consulted for verification.

Appendix:
The Amalgamated Vocabularies

In the following lists, all the different vocabularies have been amalgamated into a single listing by English gloss. Where there are minor variations in spelling, as in the various versions of the King vocabulary, these have been ignored and the most probable spelling given. If there is any doubt in any of these cases, the former listings may be referred to, and these checked with the photographs of the manuscripts through the system of cross references, so that for each item all versions may be checked with the originals.

The following abbreviations have been used: C = Cormack; CL = Clinch; J = Jure; K = King; L = Leigh; R = Robinson.

1	Afraid	K.	cockaboset don't be afraid
2	Alive	C.	mamisut;
		K.	mamseet
3	Angry	C.	assoyt
4	Ankle	C.	geijebursut
5	Arm	C.	watheek;
		K.	watheekee;
		C.	shedbasing wathik upper arm;
		L.	memayet arms
6	Arrow	L.	dogemat;
		C., K.	ashooging
7	Asleep, dead	J.	widdun
8	Awake	C.	amet
9	Baby	K.	messiligethook
10	Back	CL.	posson;
		L.	possont
11	Bad	C.	mudty;
		K.	maudee, muddy, madich;
		C.	mudeet bad man
12	Bakeapples	R.	abidemashick
13	Bat	K.	sosheet
14	Bead	C.	baasick (cf. Necklace)
15	Bear	L.	gwashuwet;
		K.	washawet
16	Beast	CL.	obditch (cf. Cat, seal)

17	Beat	CL. L.	pugathuse beating; bukashowite
18	Beaver	L. K.	mamshet; maumshet
19	(Go to) bed	K.	boochauwhit (cf. Sleep, lie down)
20	Belly	C.	haddabatheek (cf. Body)
21	Berries	L. K.	bibidigemidic; manus
22	Birch	CL. L. K.	paushee birch rind or paper; boyish birch rind; by-yeech birch tree
23	Bird	C.	deynyad, deynyadrook birds
24	Bird (Large)	CL.	popadish (cf. Pigeon)
25	Bird (Little)	C. CL.	obseet; ounermish
26	Birds' excrement	CL.	sugamith
27	Bite	L.	bashoodite
28	Black	C. K.	maudzyke; mandzey
29	Blackbird	C.	woodch
30	Blankets	L. K.	manavorit; manaboret
31	Blind	C.	kaesing-guinyeet
32	Blood	CL. L. C.	arrowbauth; izzobauth or iggobauth; ashaboouth
33	Blow	C.	deschudodoick
34	Blow the nose	CL. L.	shegame shegamit
35	Blue	C.	eeshang-eyghth
36	Blunt	C. C.	boas seek; mocothutt blunt-nosed fish

37	Boat	L. K.	adothe boat or vessel adolthtek (cf. Canoe, ship)
38	Boat (Large)	K.	dhoorado
39	Body	CL. L.	haddabothy; haddabothic
40	Boil (as water)	C.	oadjameet
41	Boil (Transitive)	C.	moadamutt
42	Bone	C.	aenameen
43	Bonnet, hat	L. C. K.	abodonec; abodoneek; abadungeyk
44	Bosom	C. K.	bodchmoot; boghmoot (cf. Breast)
45	Bow	CL. K.	hathemay; anyemen
46	Boy (White)	L., C. K. J.	bukashamesh; buggishamesh; buggishamish
47	Boy (Indian)	C. K.	mossessdeesh; mogazeesh
48	Bread	C. K.	maujebathook; annawhadya
49	Break a stick	CL.	pugenon
50	Break wind	CL.	tediddle
51	Breast	L. C.	bogomot; bemoot (cf. Bosom)
52	Breath	C.	gaboweete
53	Bushes	K.	maudeweech
54	Buttons	L. K.	agamet buttons or money; aegumet
55	Candle	L. K.	shaboth; shapoth

56	Canoe	CL.	thubathew boat or canoe;
		L.	tapathook;
		K.	dapathook
57	Cap	K.	eeseeboon (cf. Bonnet)
58	Capelin	L.	shamooth;
		K.	shamook;
		K.	shaamoo
59	Cat	L.	abideeshook;
		K.	abidesoot;
		J.	obodish
60	Cat (Marten)	L., K.	abidish
61	Catching Fish	CL.	eshbauth
62	Cattle	L.	nethabete;
		K.	methabeet
63	Cheek	K.	weenoun
64	Chin	CL.	keoun;
		L.	goun;
		K.	geoun
65	Clothes	L.	thingyam;
		K.	dhingyam
66	Clouds	L.	berroick
67	Coal	CL.	methie;
		R.	methie dirt
68	Cockle	K.	sheedeneesheet
69	Codfish	L., K.	bobboosoret (cf. Fish)
70	Cold	L.	moidewsee;
		K.	eenodsha
71	Comb	L.	edrathin
72	Come	K.	touet;
		K.	deiood
73	Come back again	K.	nadyed
74	Come hither	L.	thooret;
		C.	dyoot thouret;
		K.	dyoom

75	Comet	L.	anin
76	Cream jug	L. K.	motheryet; nadalahet
77	Cry	CL. L.	mautheauthaw; matheothuc
78	Currants	CL., L.	shamye
79	Cut	CL. L.	hadyusum; odishuik or odishuite
80	Dancing	CL. L.	thubwedgie; badiseet
81	Dead	K. K.	gosset; gausep (cf. Asleep)
82	Deer	L., J. K.	osweet; cosweet
83	Deer's horns	L. K.	megorun; megorum
84	Devil	C. K.	ashmudyim; haoot
85	Dirt	CL.	yew-why
86	Dog	L., K. J.	mammasameet; mammasamit
87	Dogberries	CL.	menome
88	Dogwood, mountain ash	L., K.	emoethook
89	Drawing knife	L. K.	moeshwadet; moheshaudet
90	Drink	K. K.	ebathook; ebathoot (cf. Water)
91	Drinking cup	C. C.	shoewan; shoewanyeesh (dim.)
92	Dry	K.	gasook
93	Duck	L. K.	boodowit; eesheet

94	Ducks and drakes	R.	howmeshet;
		L.	mameshet
95	Eagle	C.	gobidin
96	Ear	CL.	mismuth;
		L.	mooshaman;
		K.	mootchiman
97	Eat	CL.	pugazoa;
		L.	odoit;
		K.	bocootyone;
		K.	pokoodsoont
98	Egg	L.	debine;
		K.	deboin
99	Elbow	CL., L.	moocus
100	Eskimo	K.	ashwan
101	Eye	L.	gwinya;
		K.	geegnyan
102	Eyebrow	CL.	momeaugh;
		L.	marmeuck
103	Fall	L.	koshet
104	Fat	K.	eeg
105	Fear	K.	geswat;
		K.	cockaboset no fear
106	Feather	CL.	evenau;
		K.	ewinon;
		L.	abobidress feathers
107	Finger	K.	hanyees;
		J.	onnus forefinger;
		J.	oddesamick little;
		J.	awadshibik middle;
		J.	wyabick ring
108	Fire	CL.	koorae;
		L.	woodrat;
		K.	oodrat
		K.	boobeeshawt (cf. Lightning)
109	Fish	CL.	poopusrout;
		K.	baubooshrat (cf. Codfish)
110	Fish hook	L.	adothook;
		K.	adooch

111	Fishing line	CL. L.	disup; edat
112	Flea	CL.	kessyet
113	Flesh (meat)	K.	ashauch
114	Flying	CL. L.	miawoth; miaoth
115	Foot	CL. K.	hodwitch; adyouth (cf. Leg)
116	Forehead	K.	doothun
117	Fork	CL. L.	papade-aden; etheuwit
118	Fowl	J.	edgedoweshin
119	Fox	K.	dogajavick
120	Fur, animal hair	CL., L.	peatha
121	Gaping	L.	abemite
122	Get up	L. C. J.	ganyess; amshut; kinup
123	Gimlet	L., K.	quadranuck
124	Girl (White)	L., K. J.	emamooset; imamuset
125	Girl (Indian)	K.	woaseesh
126	Give me	K.	dayhamin
127	(We) give thee a knife	K.	wawashemet o-owin
128	Glass	L. K.	hadibiet; hadalahet (cf. Cream jug)
129	Gloves	L., K.	obsedeek
130	Go away	K.	gayzhoot
131	Go home	K.	baetha

132	Go out	L.	enano;
		K.	baeodut
133	Good	K.	homedick;
		K.	oomdzech
		L.	betheote good night
134	Goose	CL.	yewone;
		L.	odeusook;
		K.	odo-ezheet (cf. Duck)
135	Gooseberry	L.	jiggamint
136	Grass	CL.	shisth
137	Grindstone	L.	aquathoont;
		K.	shewthake
138	Groaning	CL.	cheeashit;
		L.	cheashit
139	Gull	L., K.	asson
140	Gun	CL.	harreen or huz-seen;
		L., K.	adamadret
141	Gun powder	L., K.	beasothunt
142	Hair	CL.	donna;
		L.	dronna;
		K.	drone-oock;
		J.	drummet
143	Halibut, flatfish	K.	hanawasutt
144	Hammer	L.	mattuis;
		K.	iwish
145	Hand	CL.	memen hands or fingers;
		L.	memet;
		K.	maelmed
146	Hare	L., K.	odusweet
147	(Make) haste	J.	ishu;
		K.	eeshoo
148	Hatchet	CL.	nowaut;
		R.	thingaya;
		K.	thinyun;
		K.	dthoonanyen

149	Head	CL.	keawthaw;
		L.	keauthut, gonothun
		K.	geothuk
150	Hear	K.	noduera
151	Heart	L.	bogodoret;
		K.	bedoret
152	Heaven	K.	theehone
153	Herring	L.	washemesh
154	Hiccups	CL.	mudyraw;
		L.	madyrut
155	Hill	K.	kaasook;
		K.	keoosock
156	Hoop	L.	woin
157	House	L.	mammateek;
		K.	mae-adthike (cf. Hut)
158	Hungry	K.	dauoosett
159	(Not) hurt	K.	aoodrach
160	Husband	L.	zathrook (cf. Man)
161	Hut	K.	meothik (cf. House)
162	Ice	L.	ozeru;
		K.	ozrook
163	Indian (Red)	L.	beathook;
		K.	behathook;
		K.	beothuck
164	Indian cup	L.	shucodidimit;
		K.	shucodidimet
165	Iron	CL.	mauageene;
		L.	mowageenite;
		J.	maudshinuk
166	Islands	L.	mammasheek
167	Kill	K.	whadicheme;
		K.	bogathoowytch
168	(Not) kill	K.	datyuns

169	Kiss	CL.	sheboth;
		L.	widumite
170	Knee	CL.	hodsmishit;
		L.	hodamishit
171	Kneeling	CL.	abusthibe;
		L.	abusthibit
172	Knife	CL.	yewoin;
		L.	uine;
		K.	aewaeen
		K.	hewhine;
		J.	iwo-in
173	Lamp	L.	bobdiduishemet;
		K.	mondicuet
174	Laugh	CL.	whoishme;
		L.	wyeeth
175	Lead	L.	goosheben
176	Lean, thin, sick	K.	ashei
177	Leaves	CL.	madyua;
		L.	madyna
178	Leg	CL.	cogadealla;
		L.	aduse (cf. Foot)
179	Lie	CL.	pisauwau;
		L.	bituwait (cf. Sleep)
180	Life	K.	mamset (cf. Alive)
181	Lightning	CL.	koorae;
		L.	barodiisick (cf. Fire and Thunder)
182	(I) like	K.	adjeedisk
183	Lip	CL.	coosh;
		L.	ooish
184	Lobster	L., K.	odjet
185	Long	K.	kannabuck
186	Lord bird, harlequin duck	L.	mammadrouit

187	Louse	CL. L.	cusebee; kusebeet
188	Lumpfish	C.	aeshemeet
189	Mainland	L.	gauzewook
190	Man (White)	CL. L. K., J.	pushaman; bukashaman; buggishaman
191	Man (Indian)	K.	shawdtharut (cf. Husband)
192	Micmac	K.	shanung
193	Milk	K.	madabooch
194	Moccassin	K. K.	moosin; mosen
195	Money	K.	beodet
196	Moon	L. C. K.	kius, washewiush; kuus; keeose, washageuis
197	Mosquito	L.	shema bogosthuc
198	Mouth	L. K.	mameshook; mamudthun
199	Muscle (Mussel)	K.	owameet
200	Nails	CL. L.	cush; quish
201	Neck	CL., L.	tedesheet (cf. Throat)
202	Necklace	L. K.	bethec; zeek (cf. Beads)
203	Needle	CL. L.	tuzmus; dosomite (cf. Pin)
204	Net	L., K.	giggaremanet
205	Night	L. K.	washew; washewch
206	Nipper	L.	bebadrook

207	No	K.	newin
208	Nose	L. K.	geen; gheen
209	Oakum	CL., L.	mushabauth
210	Oar	CL., L.	poodybeac
211	Ochre	L. K.	odement; odemen
212	Oil	L., K.	emet
213	Otter	L. K.	edru; edachoom
214	Partridge	CL. L. K.	susut; zosweet; zosoot
215	Partridgeberries	CL.	shaudame
216	Pigeon (sea), (Guillemot)	L., K., J.	bobbodish (cf. Bird)
217	Pin	CL. L., K.	tusmug; dosomite
218	Pitcher, cup, plate	L. K.	manune; manume
219	Pond	K.	woodum
220	Puffin	L.	gwoshuawit
221	Puppies	L.	mammasameet (cf. Dog)
222	Rain	CL. L. K. K.	pedthae; bathuc; watshoosooch; badoese
223	Raspberries	R.	gauzadun
224	Rat	L.	gadgemish
225	Red	K.	deedrashow
226	River	K. K.	shebon; shebin brook

227	Rocks	L.	ahune
228	Rolling	CL.	odausot
229	Rowing	CL.	huzzagan;
		L.	osavate
230	Run	CL.	wothamashee;
		L.	wothamashet;
		K.	ibadinnam
231	Sails	L., K.	ejabathook
232	Salmon	L., K.	wasemook
233	Saw	L.	deddoweet;
		K.	dedoweet
234	Salt water	K.	massoock
235	Scab	CL., L.	pigathee
236	Scallop	L.	gowet
237	Scalping the head	CL.	nomushrush keawthaw
238	Scissors	L.	osegeeu;
		K.	oseenyet
239	Scratch	L.	bashubet
240	Seal	CL.	momau;
		L.	bidesook;
		K.	bidesuk;
		K.	beedzuk
241	Seal sunk	L.	aparet a bidesook
242	Seal skin bag	C.	bochmoot seal skin sledge full
243	See	K.	ejew
244	Shake hands	CL.	meman momasthus;
		L.	meman monasthus;
		K.	kawinjemeesh
245	Ship, vessel	C.	mamzhing;
		K.	mamashee (cf. Boat)
246	Shoes	L.	moosin (cf. Mocassin)

247	Shoot	CL.	hodthoo shoot a gun;
		CL.	outhaje-arrathunum shoot an arrow perpendicularly;
		K.	wadshoodet
248	Short	K.	yeech
249	Shoulder	CL.	momezabethon;
		L.	momegemethon
250	Shovel	L.	godawick;
		K.	hadowadet
251	Silk handkerchief	L., K.	egibiduish
252	Sinew of deer	K.	modthamook
253	Singing	CL.	tuauthaw;
		L.	awoodet
254	Sit	CL.	haddosdoding;
		L., K.	athep
255	Sleep	CL.	puthuauth;
		L.	isedoweet;
		K.	bootzhawet;
		K.	aoseedwit I am sleepy (cf. Lie, Bed)
256	Sleeve	K.	wobesheet
257	Smell	K.	marot
258	Smoke	CL.	possthee;
		L.	besdic;
		K.	basdiek
259	Snail	K.	aeueece
260	Sneezing	CL.	midyathew;
		L.	adjith
261	Snipe	L.	auojet
262	Snow	K.	causabow;
		K.	kaasussabook
		(CL.	corrasoob)
263	Song	K.	mamatrabet (a long?)
264	Soon	K.	jewmetcheen
265	Sore throat	L., K.	anadrick

266	Sorrow	CL., L.	corrasoob (cf. Snow)
267	Speak	K.	carmtack;
		K.	jeroothack
268	Spear	CL.	hannan;
		C.	anun;
		C.	aaduth seal spear;
		C.	amina deer spear
269	Spider	K.	woadthoowin
270	Spoon	CL.	hanamait;
		K.	adadiminte, andemin
271	Spouse	K.	anwoyding
272	Spruce	CL., L.	trawnasoo
273	Spruce rind	CL.	sousot
274	Standing	CL.	kingabie;
		L.	kingiabit
275	Stars	CL.	so-ushzeth;
		L.	adenishit;
		K.	shawwayet
276	Stinking seal	L., K.	mattik bidesook
277	Stockings	L.	gasset;
		K.	gassek
278	Stones	CL.	ougen;
		K.	oun (cf. Rocks)
279	Stooping	CL., L.	hedy-yan
280	Sugar	K.	shedothoon
281	Sun, moon	CL.	dewis;
		L.	kius;
		K.	keeose;
		K.	keuse;
		L.	maugerooius sun;
		L.	washewiush moon;
		K.	magaragueis sun;
		K.	washageuis moon
282	Swimming	CL.	tuwedgie;
		L.	thoowidgee (cf. Dancing)

283	Sword	L., K.	bidisoni
284	Tea	K.	butterweye (but probably garbled)
285	Teeth	CL.	outhermay;
		L.	botomet outhermayet
286	Thank you	L.	thine
287	Thigh	CL.	ipeween;
		L.	ipweena
288	Thread	CL.	meroopish;
		L.	meroobish (cf. Twine)
289	Throat	CL.	tedesheet (cf. Neck)
290	Throw a trap	CL.	shaubabuneshaw
291	Throw	CL.	pugatho;
		L.	pugathoite
292	Thumb	CL.	pooith;
		L.	pooeth;
		K.	boad
		J.	buit
293	Thunder	CL.	petothorish;
		L.	barodiisick (cf. Lightning)
294	Ticklace (Kittiwake)	L., K.	gotheyet
295	Tickle (gut, sound, strait)	L.	kaduishuite
296	Tinker (razorbill)	L.	oothook
297	Tobacco	K.	nechwa
298	Tomorrow	K.	maduck
299	Tongue	CL.	memaza;
		L.	memasuck;
		K.	mamadthuk (cf. Mouth)
300	Trap	CL.	tibethun;
		L.	shebathoont;
		K.	lathun
301	Tree, woods	K.	annooee

302	Trousers	L., K.	mowead
303	Trout	L., K.	dottomeish
304	Turr (Murre)	L., K.	geonet
305	Twine	CL. K.	meroopish; madobeesh
306	Walk	CL. L. J.	woothyan; woothyat; baysot (cf. Run)
307	Walking stick	CL.	cheething
308	Warm	K. CL., L.	boobasha; obosheen warming yourself
309	Watch	L. K. K.	kius; dewis; keeose (cf. Sun, Moon)
310	Water	Cl., L. K. K.	ebauthoo; ebadoe; zebathoong water (drink)
311	Water bucket	C. C.	guinyabutt (with vertical or sloping sides); sunong-guinyabutt (large at bottom, small at top)
312	Wet	K.	wabee (confusion with White)
313	Whale's Tail	C.	owasposhno-un
314	Where do you go	K.	becket
315	White	K.	wobee
316	Whortle berries	R.	mamoose (cf. Berries)
317	Wife	L.	oosuck
318	Wife (White)	K.	adizabad-zea
319	Wind	CL. L.	tisewthun; gidgeathuc
320	Wood	CL., L.	adiab
321	Woodpecker	L., K. C.	shebohoweet; sheebuint

322	Wolf	L.	moisamadrook
323	Woman	L., K.	emamoose;
		J.	imamus;
		K.	woass-sut Red Indian woman
324	Yawning	CL.	tibeath;
		L.	jibeath
325	Yes	K.	ethath;
		K.	yeathun

Numerals

One	L.	gathet
	C.	yaseek
	K.	yazeek
Two	L.	adasic;
	C.	adzeich;
	K.	adzeech
Three	L.	shedsic;
	C.	shendeek;
	K.	shendee
Four	L.	abodoesic;
	C.	dabseek;
	K.	dabzeek
Five	L.	nijeek;
	C.	ninezeek;
	K.	nunyetheek
Six	L.	bigadosick;
	C.	bashedtheek;
	K.	beshed
Seven	L.	oodosook;
	C.	oodzook;
	K.	odeozook
Eight	L.	aodoosook;
	C.	aadazook;
	K.	adosook
Nine	L.	yeothoduck;
	C.	yeothoduk;
	K.	yeothoduck
Ten	L.	theant;
	C.	shansee;
	K.	shansee

Eleven	C.	ee-zaziech
Twelve	C.	ee-adzide
Thirteen	C.	ee-shendeek
Fourteen	C.	ee-dabzook
Fifteen	C.	ee-ninezeek
Sixteen	C.	ee-beshedtheek
Seventeen	C.	ee-oodzook
Eighteen	C.	ee-aadazook
Nineteen	C.	ee-yeothoduck
Twenty	C.	adzeich dthoonut
Thirty	C.	shendeek dthoonut

Months

November	C.	godabonyeesh
December	C.	odasweeteeshamut
January	C.	cobshuneesamut
February	C.	kosthobonong bewajoite
March	C.	manamiss
April	C.	wasumaweeseek
May	C.	bedejamish bewajowite
June	C.	wasumaweeseek
July	C.	cowazaseek
August	C.	wadawhegh
September	C.	wasumaweeseek
October	C.	godabonyegh

Eleven	C.	ee-zaziech
Twelve	C.	ee-adzide
Thirteen	C.	ee-shendeek
Fourteen	C.	ee-dabzook
Fifteen	C.	ee-ninezeek
Sixteen	C.	ee-beshedtheek
Seventeen	C.	ee-oodzook
Eighteen	C.	ee-aadazook
Nineteen	C.	ee-yeothoduck
Twenty	C.	adzeich dthoonut
Thirty	C.	shendeek dthoonut

Months

November	C.	godabonyeesh
December	C.	odasweeteeshamut
January	C.	cobshuneesamut
February	C.	kosthobonong bewajoite
March	C.	manamiss
April	C.	wasumaweeseek
May	C.	bedejamish bewajowite
June	C.	wasumaweeseek
July	C.	cowazaseek
August	C.	wadawhegh
September	C.	wasumaweeseek
October	C.	godabonyegh

Footnotes

Chapter One

1 'The Beothuk were noted for their great use of red ochre, from which came the name usually bestowed on them by Europeans . ." (Swanton, BAE Bulletin 145:549).

2 Harisse, Henry, *Decouverte et evolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, London and Paris 1900:xxxvi.

3 As I have shown elsewhere. See Hewson 1970.

4 British Museum Additional MSS 38352, brought to light in 1968 by the present writer through correspondence with the keeper of the Manuscripts, British Museum.

5 It would appear to be the official scribe's copy of the evidence that Pulling presented to the Liverpool Enquiry.

6 See J.P. Howley, *The Beothuks or Red Indians*, 1915 (Oxford University Press).

7 There were ugly rumours circulating at the time and recorded by the writers of the period that she was murdered, and the gifts kept by her murderer.

8 See, for example, Shanawdithit's own drawing and commentary opposite p. 245 in Howley 1915. Shanawdithit reported that at the capture of Mary March the first Indian's brother was also shot as he fled after the first shots were fired (Howley 1915:228); if so, this fact was successfully covered up by the members of the expedition, for reasons that are not obvious, since the younger Peyton was unquestionably a just and respected man.

9 We know from Shanawdithit that at the time of Buchan's expedition of 1811 the tribe was reduced to 72 persons, who, because of depredation, starvation and hardship were further reduced to 31 persons at the time of the capture of Mary March.

Chapter Two

10 Details to be found in the Liverpool manuscript as well, paragraphs 4.0 to 4.3 (see Hewson, forthcoming).

11 Several people were involved in this search, of whom mention should be made of Miss Margaret Holmes, Dorset county Archivist, and Mr. Victor DuPree. Mr. DuPree left no stone unturned; his enthusiasm and persistence deserve special mention.

12 Mr. Walter White of Trinity informs me that an entry in the Parish register there, dated 29 October 1788, reads "Interred, John August (a native Indian of this Island), a servant to Jeffery and Street". (Misquoted by Howley, p. 49, footnote 1).

13 The Cartwright's, born at Marnham in Nottinghamshire, had an even more famous brother, Rev. Edmund Cartwright, inventor of the power loom, which revolutionized the cotton industry in the eighteenth century.

14 If this is true, it is regrettable that such an obvious avenue for peaceful overtures was never utilized.

15 The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts employed the clergy and organized the mission parishes in Newfoundland at this time.

16 This should be Harbour Grace. Gatschet is either in error, or this is a further MS, of which we have no other record or mention.

17 Wife of Henry Arthur Blake, Governor of Newfoundland for fourteen months, September 1887 to November 1888. Blake was knighted upon his transferral to the Governorship of Queensland in November 1888, his wife becoming Lady Blake at that time in consequence of her husband's knighthood.

Chapter Three

18 We know from these letters, for example, that Leigh had scurvy in December 1818. Clinch's reports, by contrast, never mention any personal or family matters.

19 The minutes were taken with a minimum of punctuation, and are quoted verbatim.

20 It was my pleasure, in 1969, to present a xerox copy of this MS to the SPG Archives in London, thereby fulfilling Leigh's original intention one hundred and fifty years late.

21 Information provided by Mr. Walter White of Trinity.

22 Robinson's version of the vocabulary (with a commentary) is published in the *Royal Geographical Society Journal* 4:218-220 (1834). His MS is in the British Museum. Robinson's commentary is also reprinted in Howley (1915:127-129).

23 Possibly William, later Sir William Whiteway.

24 Peyton did not obtain the vocabulary, and it was of course Shanawdithit who was "last of the Beothuk", not Mary March (Demasduwit).

25 Clearly an error for bakeapples.

26 It is to be remembered that entries under C, D, E, and F are missing from SPG; that R is badly copied and not to be trusted, but is, regrettably, the only evidence we have of what the spelling was in SPG.

27 Clearly a misspelling for Currants; Cf. the Oubee Vocabularies, from which this item was taken, hence its absence in the Peyton copy.

28 The printed version of Robinson reads osweet, however.

29 Mrs. Jure told Howley that the correct pronunciation was mammasamit. Peyton added a correction to his copy; Lloyd interprets this correction as mamoosemit, but it is more likely, from the evidence, that it was mammoosemit.

30 The printed version reads moeshwadet, however.

31 Printed version reads hoshet, however.

32 Howley's interpretation of the MS was etherwit.

33 Printed version reads edat, however.

34 Printed version reads odeusook, however.

35 Presumably a misprint: Lloyd and Hatton and Harvey have "yanyess or ganyess".

36 Entries in H missing from SPG.

37 Comparision with all the other citations and also with Clinch (abusthibe kneeling) clearly show that Gatschet's citation is erroneous.

38 Local name for Harlequin duck.

39 Robinson has erroneously glossed this as lightning.

40 Entries under M and N missing from SPG.

41 This is the Lloyd reading. Gatschet misspells it giggeramanet, and also gives a Howley correction giggamahet.

42 Howley reads this as podybear; cf. Robinson MS, which could be equally easily misread.

43 Leigh, on examining the Clinch vocabulary would find that Pin and Needle are the same. Consequently, he probably added item 119 on the basis of item 125.

44 Peyton has added an emendation to his own copy: māmōosĕmich puppy.

45 The provenance of this item is a complete mystery; if Leigh never recorded it, how did it get into Robinson's "copy"?

46 Cf. the glosses for Night (115) and Moon (110) which show that the second word given for Sun and Moon is, in each case, a compound used for distinguishing the two heavenly bodies, when necessary.

47 What is clearly p in SPG may have been written ambiguously in the Peyton copy, and interpreted as an eighteenth century double s (e.g., as for Glass in SPG); cf. the Robinson citation of item 72, where the inverse has taken place.

48 Local name for the Atlantic Back-legged Kittiwake, a small gull.

49 Local name for Atlantic Common Murre.

50 Local name for the Northern Razor Bill.

51 Local term for a gut, narrows or strait.

52 From the evidence of SPG, Leigh copied the Beothuk word on one line for the English word on another line; the same kind of error has occurred in items 31 and 32.

53 Entries under W missing from SPG.

Chapter Four

54 Capital I has been read as S, w as io; add the final -eena, and the perpetration of this absurdity is complete. It is amusing that Gatschet writes "The copy was written by a scribe who evidently did not realize the importance of the document, for even the English significations are, in part, faulty. . ." (Gatschet 1890:7).

55 This is listed as Beard in the "Montreal copy".

56 Gatschet erroneously attributes these items to Leigh.

57 Latham's letter to the BAE is preserved as page one of MS 881. See Plate 55, p.121.

58 The *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions that Yates was "local Vice President of the British Association" at the Liverpool meeting of the Association in 1854. Dr. King was a member of the General Council of the British Association. It is quite possible, therefore, that Yates (who was also one of the original members of the Philological Society) passed on Cormack's vocabulary to King. Gatschet also mentions (1886:427, repr. Howley 1915:317) "Abnaki . . . and Micmac lists sent to me by R.G. Latham . . . in both are mentioned the same special terms, as drawing knife, capelan, Indian cup, deer's horns, ticklas, etc. W.E. Cormack or his attendants probably took all these three vocabularies during the same year". This also indicates that Latham had access to Cormack's work.

59 This may be another spelling of the Newfoundland family name Jewer.

60 The English name given to Shanawdithit was Nancy April (Howley 1915:181).

61 Later Archbishop Howley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. John's.

Chapter Five

62 "Some of the bone and antler implements and the birch bark receptacles are of the same type as those which I have just discussed as being common among the Algonkian of the East in general" (Speck 1922:44).

63 "These comparisons support the view that the Beothuk language belongs to the Algonkian-Ritwan language family."

64 The loss of pre-consonantal nasal is found elsewhere in Algonkian: in Fox and Abenaki, for example.

65 This presumes, of course, that the final syllable (in brackets) was lost in Beothuk as it has been lost almost universally elsewhere in Algonkian languages.

66 A colleague who is a specialist in phonology informs me that for many English speaking children the initial sounds of try and dry are exponents of the phonemes /č/ and /ǰ/ respectively. We have already noted above that Beothuk [š] may have been retroflex (note 11 on the comparisons above). If this is so, it is probable that [č] was also retroflex, and thereby similar in articulation to English [dr].

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